

INSTITUTE  
OF PACIFIC  
RELATIONS

SECTION 2

siatic Desk

VIA SAFE HAND COURIER

RECORDED & INDEXED  
125  
EX-100-64700-50

Date: July 18, 1946

To: b7C Mr. [REDACTED]  
Tokyo, Japan

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: Institute of Pacific Relations - Summary

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/11/83 BY SP3 PJS

Pursuant to your request, there is enclosed herewith a summary of the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations. A more comprehensive summary, which is being prepared concerning some of the individuals who have held positions on the Research Staff of this Institute and others who have succeeded in securing clerical positions with the Institute is being prepared. As soon as this information is assembled, it will be forwarded to you.

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

b7C

57 AUG 6 1946

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JUL 23 1946

MESSANGER - SIS

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-73103-2



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cc: [REDACTED]

July 18, 1946

## INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

The Institute of Pacific Relations was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on February 20, 1939, as a private organization. It took over the functions of an association known as the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. The organization at the time of its incorporation was described as an unofficial international group established to promote the cooperative study of mutual relations of the people and problems in the Pacific area.

Its headquarters are presently located at One East 54th Street, New York, and as of April, 1946, it claimed a membership of 1900 persons. It publishes the "Far Eastern Survey" as well as various pamphlets devoted to the problems of the Far East. *Ho Washington, D.C. Headquarters is 1710 G St. N.W.*

On March 28, 1946, the following persons were elected officers of the Institute of Pacific Relations:

Chairman, Robert G. Sproul  
Executive Vice Chairman, Edward G. Carter  
Vice Chairman  
Joseph P. Chamberlain  
Mortimer Graves  
Henry R. Ince  
Ray Lyman Wilbur  
Treasurer, Brooks Hasty  
Assistant Treasurer, Tillie G. Shahn  
Secretary, Lawrence Morris

The Executive Committee, which was elected, is as follows:

Robert G. Sproul, Chairman ex officio  
Edward G. Carter, Executive Vice Chairman  
John Curtis  
Arthur Dean  
Frederick V. Field  
Lawrence Morris  
Marriet Moore  
Donald Straus  
Owen Lattimore

Edward G. Carter has been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations and its predecessor organization for a number of years. However, he is probably better known as the head of the Russian War Relief Organization in the United States. Carter has traveled extensively in China, Japan and India and he has made several trips to the Soviet Union. He has described himself as a fellow traveler and there is every indication that he has been

Tolson  
E. A. Tamm  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Carson  
Egan  
Gurnea  
Harbo  
Hendon  
Pennington  
Quinn Tamm  
Nease  
Gandy

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DATE 3/11/83 BY SP22/CJS

closely associated with leading members of the Communist Party in the United States. According to an article which appeared in the "New Leader," a Socialist publication on November 1, 1941, Edward G. Carter was one of four members of the Russian War Relief Board of Directors who endorsed the Stalin-Hitler pact prior to Germany's attack on Russia.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has also been associated with that group for a number of years. Field is an assistant editor of the "New Masses" and he contributes a column to the "Daily Worker," generally on Far Eastern affairs. He has also been associated with the Jefferson School for Social Science in New York City which is known to be sponsored and controlled by the Communist Party. Field has also been prominently active in the affairs of numerous Communist front organizations, such as the American Peace Mobilization, the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the New York Council of American Soviet Friendship and the Council for Pan American Democracy.

Owen Lattimore, a member of the Executive Committee, was at one time political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He has also been the editor of "Pacific Affairs" which is published by the Institute of Pacific Relations and he has in addition a number of books, including "Manchuria - Cradle of Conflict," "Mongols of Manchuria" and "The Inner Asian Frontiers of China."

According to a bulletin put out by the Institute of Pacific Relations in April, 1946, three staff members had left for Tokyo where they planned to remain for some months working under General MacArthur on a research study of problems on Japanese reconstruction. These three are Miriam Farley, of the American Counsel Staff and T. A. Nisson and Andrew Gradjdansev, of the staff of the International Secretariat. Information has previously been furnished on A. Gradjdansev.

Miriam Farley has been a member of the Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations for a number of years and she is one of the editors of the pamphlet series put out by the Institute.

Thomas Arthur Nisson was formerly employed as an economist by the Board of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C. He was educated at Rutgers and Columbia Universities and between 1924, and 1928, he traveled extensively through China where he was employed as a teacher at Yenching University, Peking. From 1928 to 1942, Nisson was a member of the Research Staff of a Foreign Policy Association, New York City. He has written several books on his travels and numerous magazine articles, three of which appeared in the magazine, "Soviet Russia Today." The Dies Committee described Nisson as a sponsor of the American Committee for War Peace and Democracy, a Communist front organization. He is also said to have been a member of the American Committee for anti-Nazi literature, the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, all of which were Communist sponsored groups. Nisson has also served as a



✓ member of the editorial board of the magazine, "Amerasia," which is published and edited by Philip Jaffee and Katie Mitchell, both of whom were arrested in 1945, and charged with conspiracy to steal secret government documents from various government agencies. In 1939, Bisson was one of those who reportedly attempted to justify the Soviet pact with Hitler and who in 1941, reversed his position when Germany attacked Russia. In 1942, Bisson gave a sworn statement in which he denied his affiliation with the Communist Party and his alleged sponsorship of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

✓ Although the Institute of Pacific Relations has had a number of prominent individuals on its Board of Officers such as Henry R. Luce, publisher of "Time" and "Life" magazines; Ray Lyman Wilbur; Admiral Henry E. Yarnell and others, it has been reported that a number of persons active in the affairs of the Communist Party have managed to infiltrate the organization and to become active in its research department. Others have also been able to secure clerical positions with the Institute.

At the present time the American Council of the Institute maintains seven regional centers in San Francisco, Washington, D. C., Honolulu, Seattle, Milwaukee, eastern Washington and Idaho and Los Angeles.

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DATE 3/11/83 BY GPOB/PLS

SAC, New York  
Director, FBI

August 9, 1946

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In view of the activity on the part of the Russian government in the Pacific Theatre and information developed concerning the functions of the captioned organization and its members during the investigation of the PHILIP JACOB JAFFE, was, et al, ESPIONAGE - C, case, you are instructed to reopen this case and place it in line for immediate and thorough investigation.

In the first report submitted by your office you are requested to incorporate the information obtained in the investigation of the JAFFE case concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations. This information should be carefully paraphrased, however, in order to protect all sources of information.

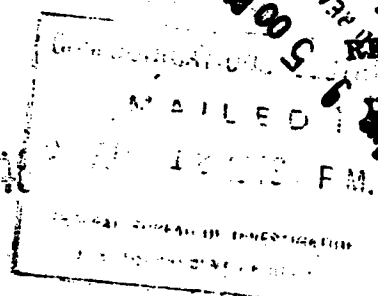
It is requested that this matter be given preferred attention and a report submitted in the near future.

Tolson  
E. A. Tamm  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Carson  
Egan  
Gurnea  
Harbo  
Hendon  
Quinn  
Tamm  
Nease  
Miss Gandy

100-64700

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27 AUG 22 1946



100-64700-312

FBI  
AUG 14 1946

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

FROM NEW YORK

RE: [REDACTED]

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

REACHED BEFORE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

TO CIRCULARIZE MEMBERSHIP

CHARGES AGAINST THE ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]

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3-31-42

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



636 E

SAC, New York

Director - FBI

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to Bureau letter to your office dated August 9, 1964,  
under the above-entitled caption wherein you were advised to reopen this case  
and place it in files for immediate and thorough investigation.

It is requested that your office advise the Bureau as to what a report  
will be submitted with regard to this matter.

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DATE 3/11/83 BY SP-6 BJA/LS

100-64201-33  
F B I  
JUL 30 1964



**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-17808** **ENG**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>JAN 2 1947</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11/22, 23, 27, 28; 12/18, 20, 23, 24; 30/46</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <b>67C</b>
TITLE <b>INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject organization charged in court action with following Communist line. Persons affiliated with subject organization figured prominently in investigation of **PHILIP J. JAFFE**, editor of **ASIANIA**. Contacts of pro-Communists and Communist Party functionaries with subject set forth.

**APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF**

**Business File 100-64700**  
Report of Special Agent **[REDACTED]**  
New York, **1/5/47**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

**DETAILS:**

A review of the files of the New York Office, reflect the following information concerning the **INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS**:

On April 12, 1945, the New York World Telegram, under the headline, "Pacific Institute Accused of Communist Ties in Court Action", related that an action was being brought in the New York Supreme Court by **ALFRED KOHLBERG**, importer of 1 West 37th Street, New York City, charging that the **INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS** was being dominated by Communists and demanding that the organization give him a copy of its membership list in order that he might circularize the members. During a hearing before Justice **CHARLES S. MC LAUGHLIN**, **KOHLBERG** offered an 88 page pamphlet to support his charge that the **INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS** was following the Communist line. A copy of this pamphlet has previously been

INDEXED <b>55 FEB 7 1947</b>	FILED <b>100-17808-157</b>	RECORDED <b>15</b>
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forwarded to the Bureau.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
On November 30, 1945, the New York Times carried an article stating that an agreement had been reached before Justice HENRY L. SUNDTAC, which would allow ALFRED H. KOHLBERG to circularize the membership of the institute to support his plan to investigate charges of Communism in the organization.

b1 [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

b7C In June 6, 1945, PHILIP JACOB HART was apprehended by Bureau agents in connection with the illegal possession of confidential and restricted government documents. In the course of interviewing PHILIP HART, he identified various names appearing in his address book. The name [REDACTED] he identified as formerly working for the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. He also identified the name [REDACTED] as an IPA employee.

b7C [REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

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On June 8, 1945, HILDA AUSTERN was interviewed by Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] in connection with the JAHN case. HILDA AUSTERN stated that she was a long-time friend of both PHILIP JAFFE and KATE MITCHELL and had a common interest with them in far eastern affairs. She stated that the IFR is a privately owned organization with branches in ten countries all governed by an international secretariat of which she is assistant treasurer. She claimed the purpose of the IFR is to promote better relations and understanding between Far Eastern countries themselves as well as with the United States.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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KATE MITCHELL at IPR and also ARTHUR ROSE in either 1949 or 1950

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

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REFERRED

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The Daily Worker on August 22, 1945, August 29th and 30th, 1946, carried articles written by BARBARA BENTON, entitled "Roxas and the Pak in the Philippines", "The Problems of Philippine Tenant Farmers" and "Roxas Suppresses Filipino Democrats." These articles were stated by the Daily Worker to be reprinted from the "Far Eastern Survey" by permission of the American Council, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. The Daily Worker stated that BARBARA BENTON was with the Office of War Information from 1943 to 1945. In these articles, BENTON glorifies the Hukbalahap as being leaders of the resistance movement against the Roxas government in the Philippines.

The New York World Telegram on April 22, 1945, in discussing the court action brought by ALFRED KROENKE against the IPR, states, "The American Council of the Institute has about 1900 members. Among its trustees are HENRI E. BUCK, author; HENRY E. BUCK, publisher; JOHN LATTIN of the Pacific Branch of OWI; Senator HENRY D. DOWNS of Utah; FREDERICK A. NEWMAN, columnist for the Daily Worker, and Adm. E. E. SMITH, U.S.N."

**CONFIDENTIAL**



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b1 (C) [REDACTED] on May 27, 1942, EDWARD C. CARTER of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, corresponded with EDGAR E. YARR, Monarch Life Insurance Company, Winnipeg, Canada. CARTER advised that he had cabled Moscow with reference to having VISHINSKY (VISHINSKY ?) and MITCHELL (MOLATOV ?) attend the September conference on problems of the Pacific sponsored by the IPR. CARTER forwarded to YARR, a quotation from a letter received by him from EDWARD E. BISHOP, Dartington Hall, Devon, England as follows:

"David Owen who went with Min (Grippe) to Delhi, gave us a grand evening's talk and discussion last night on all his experiences, the queer alliance between the Gandhi group and the wealthy mill owners who don't want a scorched earth policy and who think they should carry on under the Japs just as well, defeated Nehru's group by a very narrow margin. The students are, I gather, 100% left wing and are impatient with the older leaders."

b1 (C) [REDACTED] on July 12, 1942, the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, forwarded to FRANK C. AHERN, Post Office Box 290, Honolulu, Hawaii, a notification of a convention of the IPR from December 4th to December 12, 1942, together with a program of activities to be held at the meetings.

b1 (C) [REDACTED] EDWARD C. CARTER of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS corresponded with Mrs. S. K. DATTA-POHMAN, Christian College, Lahore, India on September 21, 1942. CARTER discussed the proposed conference of the IPR to be held in Quebec, Canada December 4th - 14th, and mentioned that the conference would be attended by Sir RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; SERANJANDAN DINAN RAHADER, advisor to the Secretary of State for India; NEGAN SHAH KAMAZ, and Sir V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA.

b1 (C) [REDACTED] EDWARD C. CARTER, secretary general of the IPR on September 28, 1942 corresponded with Doctor HORACE NELSHAW-AUCKLAND, University College, New Zealand. CARTER enclosed the agenda for the Quebec Conference of the IPR and noted that it was to be "entirely private and that its discussions should not be reported in the press."

b1 (C) [REDACTED] FRANK C. AHERN of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 129 East 32nd Street, New York City corresponded with Mr. F. C. AHERN, Castle and Cooke Ltd., Honolulu, Hawaii on December 15, 1942. The informant advised that AHERN gave a confidential report on the conference of the IPR held in Canada.

- P E N D I N G -

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NY 100-27008

UNREVEALED LEADS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City

Will follow and report the activities of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC  
RELATIONS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : ~~THE DIRECTOR~~  
 FROM : B. M. Ladd  
 SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1-3-47

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Carson  
 Mr. Egan  
 Mr. Gurnea  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Hendon  
 Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Beahm  
 Miss Gandy

The New York Field Division by letter dated December 30, 1946, advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished that office with a copy of an unsigned, unaddressed letter together with other communications. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] this source refers to the Institute of Pacific Relations as a Communist front group.

It should be pointed out that "PLAIN Talk" in the month of December carried an article entitled "The IPR - Tokyo Axis" by Sheppard Marley. There is also to be another article in the January, 1947, issue concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations which will be entitled "IPR - Carter's Pink Pills" by the same author. [REDACTED]

However, the New York Office declined to do so without specific authority from the Bureau.

A review of the Bureau's files on the Institute of Pacific Relations reflected that the first report submitted on this organization was dated April 13, 1942, and since that time the organization has been under periodic investigation, due to the fact that a number of persons active in the affairs of the Communist Party movements have managed to infiltrate the organization and become active members. At the present time an exhaustive investigation is being conducted in the New York Office with particular reference to the connections developed during the investigation of Philip Jacob Jaffe, et al, between the Editorial Board of the magazine "Amerasia" and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

A review of the file reflects that copies of the reports in this case have been furnished to the Office of Naval Intelligence, Military Intelligence, the Department of Justice and the State Department. The most recent summary of this organization was submitted on July 18, 1946, by the Bureau to Special Agent [REDACTED] in Tokyo, Japan, for the information of Military Intelligence in that area.

As you will recall in connection with the investigations conducted in the Philip Jacob Jaffe case, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

There is attached hereto for your approval a letter to the New York Office authorizing this interview with [REDACTED] to obtain all available facts relative to this letter which states that the Institute of Pacific Relations [REDACTED]

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b7c

Attachment



United States Department of  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York, N. Y.



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
CONFIDENTIAL  
DATE

December 30, 1946.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 Bja/cl  
ON 3-14-83

Director, FBI.

ATTENTION: MR. LADD

RE: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Please be advised that on December 30, 1946, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished this office with information concerning an organization known as INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, which is presently attempting to obtain sponsorship of the program PACIFIC STORY, produced and directed by ARNOLD MARQUIS.

[REDACTED] furnished copies of several letters and an enclosure to one which are being forwarded herewith to the Bureau.

The other letter states that satisfactory relations have been had by DONALD M. NELSON, President of the Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers, Hollywood, California, with the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. The third letter is a cover letter enclosing the names of the Board of Directors of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

It was further ascertained from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that it was her opinion that the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS is a Communist front organization. It will be noted that an article concerning the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS appeared in the December 1946 issue of PLAIN TALK under the title "THE IPR - TOKYO AXIS" by SHEPPARD MARLEY. There is to be another article in the January 1947 issue of PLAIN TALK concerning the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, which will be entitled "IPR-CARTER'S PINK PILLS" by the same author. It was ascertained [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] by an agent of this office in order to secure more details concerning the previous-mentioned correspondence.

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Letter to Director

December 30, 1946.

b7C [REDACTED] Despite the possible availability of additional information concerning the addressor and the addressee of the above-mentioned correspondence this office does not contemplate an interview with her without specific Bureau instructions and, therefore, no further action is being taken in this matter.

Enclosed for the Bureau will be found copies of the above-mentioned correspondence together with a proof of the article "IPR-CARTER'S PINK PILLS". Enclosed for the Los Angeles Field Division are copies of the above-mentioned correspondence.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
wrm

EDWARD SCHEIDT,  
SAC.

Encls.

cc: Los Angeles (Encls.)

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DATE 01-03-84 BY 2041

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Mr. Harry Maizlich	... KFMB, Manager.
Mr. Arnold Marquis	... Director-producer, "Real Life Story", NBC
Mrs. James McCandless	... Civic leader
Mr. Raymond G. McKelvey	... Occidental College
Mrs. John E. Mock	... Active Civic leader
Mr. Donald M. Nelson	
Mr. S. Polyzoides	... Los Angeles Times
Mr. Gustav Riedlin	... Importer
Mr. Allen Rivkin	... Hollywood writer
Mr. W. S. Rosecrans	... Private investor
Mrs. Peter Rosenfeld	... Active Civic leader
Mr. John Sowers	... World Trade Dept. Chamber of Commerce
Dr. Joseph E. Spencer	... UCIA
Dr. Arthur Steiner	... UCIA
Mr. J. E. Wallace Sterling	... Caltech
Bishop W. Bertrand Stevens	
Dr. Richard Van Alstyne	... USC
Mr. Walter Wanger	
Mr. Shelby Wickline	... Manager, World Trade Dept., San Diego Chamber of Commerce
Dr. Floyd G. Winton	... USC
Mr. Thomas E. Workman	... Catholic Civic leader

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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24

## IPR - CARTER'S PINK PILLS

By SHEPPARD MARLEY

In the first article on the Institute of Pacific Relations, entitled The IPR-Tokyo Axis, published in the December, 1946, issue of PLAIN TALK, the author dealt largely with the strange links between this organization, which exercises considerable influence on American foreign policy, and the Japanese imperialists. In the present concluding instalment, he explores and exposes the pro-Soviet and pro-Communist elements in the IPR. Rom

IN AUGUST, 1945, the *Daily Worker* printed a letter signed by twenty-one persons protesting United States policy in China, attacking the Chinese government and defending the Chinese Communists. Among the signers were the following frequent contributors to the publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations: Frederick Vanderbilt Field, T. A. Bisson, Laurence E. Salisbury and Nym Wales, who is the wife of Edgar Snow.

Late in 1945 the New York State Committee of the Communist Party planned a "Campaign of Struggle Against the United States Imperialist Intervention in China." Included in the instructions to the faithful was a statement urging "concentration during this campaign on the sale and distribution" of a number of pamphlets and books by such well-known objective students of public affairs as J. Stalin and Gunther Stein, whose *The Challenge of Red China* made the honor roll. A few months after the distribution of these instructions, the American Council of the IPR sent out a circular advertising Stein's book which it had not even sponsored.

IPR contributors abound in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, which might more properly be

called the Committee for a Stalinist Far Eastern Policy. Field and Nym Wales are on the Committee's Board of Directors. Among its thirteen "consultants," the following eight have written for the IPR: Bisson, Salisbury, Stein, Israel Epstein, Kumar Goshal, Maxwell Stewart, Kate Mitchell and Philip Jaffe, both of the latter leading figures in the *Amerasia* espionage case described by E. S. Larsen in the October issue of PLAIN TALK.

It is not surprising, therefore, that IPR publications have been filled with the contributions of such other friends and champions of Soviet Russia as Anna Louise Strong, Michael Greenberg, Michael Lindsay, Abraham Chapman, Evans F. Carlson, Edgar Snow, and William Mandel.

As for the tie between the eminently respectable IPR and *Amerasia*, there is ample room for further investigation. It is an established fact that when the IPR had its headquarters at 129 East 52nd Street, New York City, the offices of *Amerasia* were then in an adjoining building; so intimate was the relationship between them that an opening had been made in the walls for a special doorway to connect the two. It has not been established, however, whether at that time *Amerasia* had al-

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ENCLOSURE



ready been filching top secret documents in Washington. Nor has it been ascertained whether the large photo-copying department which, according to Congressman Dondero, was working "through the night, in the small hours of the morning and even on Sundays" photostating the stolen papers, had already been installed in the offices of *Amerasia*.

Just as ample are the grounds for further investigation into the conduct of the head of the IPR, Edward C. Carter, in his capacity as chairman of the committee in charge of allocations of the United China Relief which had disbursed \$900,000 through Madame Sun Yat-sen without a public accounting on her part.

In this connection, a memorandum prepared in September, 1942, for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations by Robert Barnett, who went to China for the United China Relief and who is now with the Korean Division of the Department of State, is of moment. The memorandum, entitled "The Outlook in Free China," was marked *Confidential: not for circulation or quotation*. In it, Mr. Barnett reported objectively on a series of interviews he had had with various Chinese leaders, including General Chou En-lai, representative in Chungking of the Chinese Communist party. The interview took place on April 22, 1942, during one of the blackest periods of the war for the Allies, when the Chinese Communists made common cause with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese.

When asked by Mr. Barnett how American friends could most effectively provide relief for the Border Regions in China under Communist control, Chou En-lai replied:

"So far as relief to Border Regions is

concerned, for example, the only channel is through Madame Chiang Kai-shek who is genuinely interested in relief work in every area of China. She has recently helped the Chinese Communists. . . . To channelize assistance through Madame Sun Yat-sen alone excites immediate opposition, although small sums of money may occasionally find their way through. Foreigners wishing to help the Communists should work with Madame Chiang, Madame Sun and Madame Kung, acting jointly under Madame Chiang's name. v/

Despite this injunction from the recognized leader of the Chinese Communists, who were then wholeheartedly cooperating with the Kuomintang, Mr. Carter and his associates transmitted the \$900,000 worth of American relief exclusively to Madame Sun Yat-sen. The contributors of this aid have never been able to learn why the American officials of the United China Relief displayed more pro-Communist zeal than the Communist leader nor what happened to the funds and supplies collected in the United States.

\* \* \*

THE LITERARY ASPECT of the IPR affords a definite clue to its character: it has never been guilty of criticizing the conduct of the Soviet government in any fundamental respect. Not so clear has been the administrative set-up of the organization, which has puzzled even some of its ranking members. But most of the time the doubts raised about the forces behind the IPR are quickly resolved through the personality of its guiding spirit, Edward C. Carter. Dr. Carter may serve pink pills. But his own diet is strictly beyond reproach. Leading a literary caravan of Communists and fellow-travelers, he has managed himself to retain the conservative label and the reputation of

an independent and impartial policy-maker.

Yet among the articles and books that have appeared under the IPR imprint have been such opinionated products as those of Frederick V. Field. Because of his acknowledged membership in the Communist party, it is sufficient to observe that nothing Mr. Field has written for the IPA has ever deviated from the party line in any important respect, and he has written on the most controversial political issues. It is pertinent, however, to cite an example of the coordination of views between the Communist press and IPR publications.

In the summer of 1943 it became evident that the Stalinists no longer thought it necessary to maintain the favorable attitude toward the government of Chiang Kai-shek that had developed out of the war against Japan. In discussing "The Crisis in China" in the *New Masses* of August 24, 1943, Field reviewed the current crop of articles against the Chinese government, noting especially the contributions by a certain missionary, Creighton Lacy, by a writer in the official Soviet publication *War and the Working Class*, and by T. A. Bisson, Y. Y. Hsu and Lawrence K. Rosinger. The last three were frequent contributors to IPR publications.

The article by Bisson to which Field referred appeared in the IPR's biweekly, *Far Eastern Survey*, for July 14, 1943. It marked the beginning of the turn in sentiment expressed by many other IPR writers on the Kuomintang-Communist issue in China. Bisson came up with this analysis of the internal situation: "A year or more before Pearl Harbor, therefore, two Chinas had definitely emerged . . . One is generally called Kuomintang China; the other is called Communist China." These

were misnomers, he added, for the two Chinas could be more accurately called "feudal" China and "democratic" China.

Now by a strange coincidence Field carried out the same line of argument in the *New Masses* of July 13, 1943. Mr. Bisson had served his stint on the editorial board of *Amerasia* and contributed to *Soviet Russia Today*. In August, 1939, the very month of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Bisson was one of the signers of the memorable "letter of the 400" which whitewashed Soviet policy.

There was nothing new about this whitewashing of Soviet deeds and misdeeds on the part of IPR associates. In 1938, Owen Lattimore, one of the main pillars of the organization, printed in *Pacific Affairs* a discussion of the Moscow purge "trials" by the well-known fellow-traveler, Mary Van Kleeck, in which she accepted Moscow's official version without question. William Henry Chamberlin, in a letter in the following issue, disputed this interpretation, pointing out some inconsistencies in the "trials" and the lack of objective evidence against the defendants. To this letter Lattimore added his own views, supporting the conduct of the mock trials which he regarded as evidence of democracy in the Soviet Union. The purge tribunals were, according to him, "a triumph for democracy."

Mr. Lattimore, who had in 1937 condemned the Japanese aggression upon China, could never bring himself to view the Soviet Union's attacks upon Finland and Poland as aggression. In the last issue of *Pacific Affairs* edited by him and which appeared before the German invasion of Russia, Lattimore claimed that since the causes of the war were not "only the wrongs done to

Britain by Germany," merely settling these matters would not be settling the main issues. "The prime wrongs," he continued, "were those that were done to China, Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Albania—not by Japan and Italy and Germany alone, but by Britain and France and the United States as well."

Because the omission of Russia from the list of culprits was conspicuous, Lattimore added a footnote: "I have not here dealt with Poland, Finland, the Baltic and Balkan and Scandinavian countries, and so forth, because what they have suffered has been the result, not the cause, of war." This remarkable statement, besides whitewashing the Soviet Union, was Lattimore's own timid contribution to the Communist party's and fellow-travelers' campaign, spearheaded by the American Peace Mobilization, to stop aid to Britain and to show the futility of fighting Hitler during his pact with Stalin.

\* \* \*

THE SOVIET-JAPANESE PACT of April, 1941, like the Stalin-Hitler pact, challenged the ingenuity of the IPR writers. No statement of criticism of this pact has ever appeared under IPR sponsorship, while many commendations of it have been published under its imprint—a state of unanimity seldom found outside of Communist and fellow-traveler groups.

Foster Rhea Dulles, in a 1944 IPR educational book entitled *Behind the Open Door*, defended the integrity of the Soviet government in signing the pact with Japan by pointing out the benefit it brought to the cause of the United Nations. A strict party-liner, writing under the name of Asiaticus in *Pacific Affairs* soon after the conclusion of the pact, remarked that it was a defeat for those who wanted to profit

by Soviet-Japanese hostility, a victory for world peace as well as for the Japanese masses. Neither of these commentators suggested that Japan might possibly have gained something by signing up with Stalin.

An IPR staff member, Miriam S. Farley, came the closest to a realistic analysis of the pact in her contribution to a book by T. A. Bisson, *America's Far Eastern Policy*, which first appeared in 1941, before Pearl Harbor. The pact, she wrote, "was hailed as a diplomatic triumph in Tokyo, where it was interpreted as freeing Japan's hands for action in the south. It may be questioned whether Japan had gained any freedom of action which she had not previously enjoyed; however, on this point the Tokyo interpretation is doubtless more enlightening than the treaty itself." This was, of course, a whitewash of Stalin, but it at least mentioned another possibility, even if only to reject it.

As for the question whether Japan gained any freedom of action, the attack on Pearl Harbor came a few months after the pact and the publication of Miss Farley's views. In a 1945 edition of the same book, she no longer questioned whether Japan had gained any freedom of action by the pact, but merely mentioned that Tokyo felt that it had.

The directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations have not found it all easy going, for occasionally someone sees through the film spread by its Stalinists. Thus George E. Taylor, one of the independent writers for the IPR, asked some embarrassing questions of Frederick V. Field, who had reviewed Taylor's book entitled "America in the New Pacific" in *Pacific Affairs*. This was in 1942, during the truce between the Communists and the Kuomintang in China. Field had attacked Taylor for

listing the various conflicting groups in China, contending that this was "divisive" and created "suspicion and lack of confidence in our ally." (Curiously, only a year and a half later, when the party line had changed, Field wrote in the *New Masses* of November 2, 1943: "Is the problem of Chinese internal unity properly the concern of Americans? . . . The answer is that China's internal disunity is very much our concern.")

In his reply Taylor pointed out that Field seemed to be interested more in political expediency from a certain standpoint than in the truth. Referring to Field's hortatory style, Taylor suggested that this was "not the language of scholarship, nor is it intended to be; it is the language of revelation, the source of which is not disclosed to the uninitiated." The editors of the IPR's allegedly non-partisan and scholarly journal passed this deserved rebuke in silence. Taylor also stated that in his book he had offered the ideals of America as models for a free China, and had declared: "If he [Field] feels that there is any other power, or body of ideas, which is preferable to the American and to which we should look for hope, he does not name them." This embarrassing challenge was also ignored both by IPR and by Mr. Field.

\* \* \*

**F**REDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, the "millionaire Communist," who serves as secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations is in one capacity the closest link between this organization and the Communist party. In one of his other capacities he links the IPR with that citadel of the Republican party, the *New York Herald Tribune*, whose foreign editor, Joseph Barnes, is his life-long comrade-in-arms.

The Field-Barnes team was part of the original brain trust of the IPR. Mr. Barnes will be remembered as the literary companion of Wendell Willkie on his tour of Soviet Russia and as one of the chiefs of the OWI who had been dismissed by Elmer Davis with the approval of President Roosevelt on account of his alleged pro-Soviet attitude.

Mr. Barnes and Mr. Field formed a friendship at Harvard University more than twenty years ago. Barnes first went to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1928 and returned to it in 1931, when he entered the employ of the Soviet branch of the IPR as a research specialist. Upon his return to the United States he became intimately associated with Field in a tourist enterprise which specialized in arranging study tours of the Soviet Union. At the same time both were active in the IPR.

Mr. Barnes then married on November 1, 1936, Elizabeth Brown Field, who in the elections of that year registered as a Communist in New York City. In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1937, entitled "The American Dream," Mr. Barnes eulogized Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, and the other American Communist leaders as the "spiritual inheritors of the Founding Fathers."

To be sure, nothing as explicit may be found in the writings of the other brain trusters in the official publications of the IPR. There its leading experts have endeavored, particularly in recent years, to present Communists as reformers and liberals. Thus in 1944, after the Soviet line toward Chiang Kai-shek had changed, the new editor of the *Far Eastern Survey* of the IPR, Mr. Laurence E. Salisbury, joined his colleague Bisson in denying that the Chinese Communists were Communists. "The term can be used correctly only



in quotation marks," wrote Mr. Salisbury.

The question when a Communist is a "Communist" or just a Communist is one to which IPR writers have given plenty of thought. Following the formal dissolution of the Communist International, there was a worldwide propaganda campaign to divorce in the public mind all foreign Communist elements, whether in the Balkans or in China, from any connection with Moscow. Maxwell S. Stewart, a veteran upholder of Soviet policies, wrote in his IPR pamphlet on "War-Time China" published in 1944, that Chinese Communists are like no other Communists the world over, for they attract many "progressive and patriotic Chinese who know little of the doctrines of Karl Marx or Stalin and care less."

This familiar song describing Communists as democrats and "agrarians" could not but confuse and befuddle public opinion. But the experts in the IPR know only too well that the entire movement is avowedly Marxian, and just as avowedly loyal to Lenin and Stalin. They know more. They know the unbroken and massive record of intimate relations since 1921 between Moscow and the Chinese Communist

party. And they know that the regime of the latter in the provinces controlled by Yen-an is as totalitarian as Stalin's own in Russia proper.

\* \* \*

MANY PROMINENT CITIZENS who have lent their prestige and financial support to the IPR are still convinced that it is an impartial research group only. Such is the case of W. W. Waymack, editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, who in a formal statement asserted that if one wished, one could also prove from its writings "that the IPR is anti-Communist." Mr. Waymack would indeed be hard put to it to adduce any such proof. A comprehensive examination of the literary output of the IPR shows that, like the official Communist press, it has never been guilty of such oversights in regard to the Soviet government.

This feature of the Institute's activity should be investigated by its patrons, just as its interlocking organizational set-up deserves the same. Outside affiliations, public and private, of IPR leaders and writers can also bear investigation. It will be found that the net effect of the IPR literature, especially that of the American Council, has been the defense of Stalin's tyranny at home and of his aggression abroad.

### *Elliott's Phantom Diary*

ELLIOT ROOSEVELT's diary may well become as famous as Mary Astor's, if the whole story behind *As He Saw It* is ever told. The Alsop brothers have already reported that the first editor to see the book "requested Elliott Roosevelt to substantiate his facts by producing the diary he claims to have kept. Young Roosevelt replied . . . that this valuable document was now unfortunately missing."

The diary which Elliott supposedly kept is the only documentary proof of the liberal sprinkling of quotation marks around the late President's conversations in the pages of *As He Saw It*. Or did Elliott, with an eye to royalties, remember that dead men tell no tales?

RECORDED

100-14700  
SAC, New York

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/14/83 BY SP6BJA/K

January 8, 1947

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to your letter to the Bureau dated December 30, 1946 captioned as above.

You are requested to immediately arrange for an interview with [redacted]

[redacted] and obtain all available facts concerning the unsigned, unaddressed letter referred to your office by [redacted] reflecting that the Institute of Pacific Relations [redacted]

This interview should be very thorough and the source of this statement ascertained.

[redacted] should be advised that this information was furnished to the Bureau [redacted] who as an individual desired to bring this information to the Bureau's attention. She should be further advised that this reference [redacted] exist between the Bureau and [redacted] This matter should be conveyed to her diplomatically but very clearly.

The Bureau should be advised immediately as to the results of this interview.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 15

JAN 6 1947 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

53 FEB 3 1947

RECEIVED  
JAN 12 1947

B.L.R.

RECEIVED  
JAN 12 1947

# Office Memorandum

TO: Director  
 FROM: SAC, New York  
 SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY

This will advise that the December 1946 issue of Pacific Affairs received today by the New York Office, sets forth the following information concerning "Pacific Affairs" and the Institute of Pacific Relations:  
 Publisher - Institute of Pacific Relations - 1 E. 54th Street, New York  
 Editor - Philip Barbour - 1 E. 54th Street, New York  
 Business Manager - Helen Schneider - 1 E. 54th Street, New York  
 Published quarterly at 3 E. 54th Street, Richmond, Virginia.

"The Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial and non-political organization, founded in 1925 to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area. It is composed of autonomous National Councils in the principal countries having important interests in the Pacific area, together with an International Secretariat. It is privately financed by contributions from National Councils, corporations, and foundations. The Institute, as such, does not advocate policies or doctrines and is precluded from expressing opinions on national or international affairs. It is governed by a Pacific Council composed of members appointed by each of the National Councils.

## Pacific Council

R. J. F. BOYER (Australia)

Capt. R. G. CAVELL (Canada)

HU SHIH (China)

PAUL EMILE MAGGIAR (France)

F. H. VISMAN (Netherlands-Netherlands Indies)

R. J. POWLES (New Zealand)

CONRAD BENITEZ (Philippines)

S. ZHUKOV (U.S.S.R.)

Sir ANDREW McFADYREAN (United Kingdom)

ROBERT A. SPRUELL (United States)

## Committee Chairmen

Chairman:

Vice-Chairman:

RECORDED

INDEXED

R. J. F. BOYER

R. J. F. BOYER

CHIAI WEN TIAN

R. J. VISMAN

S. ZHUKOV

EDWARD C. MARTIN

RAYSON WIRE

Sir ANDREW McFADYREAN

ROBERT A. SPRUELL

Chairman, Finance:

Chairman, Program:

Chairman, Research:

Vice-Chairman, Research:

100-17808

66 JAN 23 1947

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Letter to Director,  
N.Y. file 100-17808

January 8, 1947

National Councils

Australian Institute of International Affairs  
Canadian Institute of International Affairs  
China Institute of Pacific Relations  
Comite d' Etudes des Problemes du Pacifique  
Netherlands - Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
New Zealand Institute of International Affairs  
Philippine Institute of Pacific Relations  
Royal Institute of International Affairs  
U.S.S.R. Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations  
International Secretariat and Publications Office, 1 E. 54th Street,  
New York 22, New York



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd

FROM : J. C. Strickland

SUBJECT: ① INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1-20-47

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/4/83 BY SP6Bja/CK

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Reference is made to a memorandum from you to the Director dated January 3, 1947, entitled "Institute of Pacific Relations, Internal Security - C." As you will recall the New York Office advised the Bureau that

b7d [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the New York Office was therefore requested to interview [REDACTED] to obtain all available facts relative to this statement concerning this Bureau.

The New York Office advised the Bureau by letter dated January 14, 1947, that [REDACTED] was interviewed and advised that [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

There is attached for your approval a letter to the Los Angeles Office instructing them to arrange for an interview with [REDACTED]

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INDEXED

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b7d

[REDACTED] The Los Angeles Office has been requested to exercise care and judgment in the handling of this matter in order to protect the source of information.

b7d

As a matter of further information I wish to advise that the New York Office has stated that [REDACTED] during the interview with her that there was no connections existing between the Bureau and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had furnished her information to the Bureau solely as an individual in the belief that it would be of interest to the FBI.

Attachment



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York 7, New York



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 14, 1947.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Declass  
DATE 2-14-83

Director, FBI.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6Bja/pls  
ON 13-14-83

ATTENTION: MR. LADD

RE: <sup>①</sup> INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of December 30, 1946 and to your  
letter dated January 3, 1947, captioned as above.

In accordance with your instructions [REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED] was interviewed.

b7d

~~DEFERRED RECORD~~

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100-17808

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Letter to Director  
100-17808

January 14, 1947

b7d

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

b7d

Pursuant to your request [REDACTED] was informed in a diplomatic way that there is no connection whatsoever between the Bureau and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had furnished [REDACTED] to this office solely as an individual in the belief that it would be of interest to the FBI. [REDACTED] perfectly and stated that in the future [REDACTED] all such matters directly to this office.

Letter to Director  
100-17808

January 14, 1947

b7d | In conclusion [REDACTED] undertook to furnish  
this information to the Bureau [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
wm

EDWARD SCHEIDT,  
SAC.

cc: NY 62-8845

100-64700-42

SAC, Los Angeles

INTERNAL SECURITY

Director, FBI

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/1/83 BY SP-6 BJS/BJL

The New York Office advised the Bureau by letter on 1/11/47

b7d

[REDACTED]

b7d

[REDACTED]

4/1/5

b7d

[REDACTED]

In this individual the Bureau files have been reviewed and reflect that

in view of the fact that all information con-  
tained in the Bureau files relating to this individual has been furnished to  
the Bureau by your office, no further reference is being made of this line to  
his background.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

[REDACTED]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

b7c

[REDACTED]

GA PR JCN

51 FEB 19 1947



b7d

b7d

therefore instructed to immediately arrange an interview with

This interview should be thorough and the basis for this statement ascertained. Care should be exercised, however,

The Bureau should be advised immediately as to the results of this inquiry.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 31, 1947

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to your letter of January 21, 1947, captioned as above, advising that

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DATE 3/4/83 BY SP6 BPA/CK

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EX - 88

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52 FEB 18 1947

Sam

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: February 3, 1947

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: ① INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to my letter dated January 14, 1947, in the above captioned matter.

b7d [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED]

b7d [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

Both of the following persons have sent letters to [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] R426

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/83 BY SP6 BJA/CJSEX-1  
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15 FEB 12 1947

G.I.R.-3  
HANDLE BY  
STOP DESK

Letter to Director  
NY 100-17808

February 3, 1947

The above is being submitted for purposes of information only and no further action is contemplated in the New York Field Division with reference to this matter.

b7d The Los Angeles Field Division is being furnished with a copy of this letter inasmuch as [REDACTED] emanates at Los Angeles and Hollywood and because some of the persons named above, live in the Los Angeles area.

cc - Los Angeles.

Office Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau is a clipping from "The Tablet" of January 18, 1947, which reprints a letter from ALFRED KOHLBERG addressed to E. C. CARTER of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

ENCLOSURE  
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Enc. (4)

FEB 27 1947

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DATE 4/83 BY SP6 BIA/CK





FORWARDED BY N.Y. FIELD DIVISION

Office Memorandum

CONFIDENTIAL

EX-100-17808

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY

212-5

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau is a copy of a notice of annual meeting of members of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS to be held on February 12, 1947.

This notice sets forth the names of the members of the Institute to the Board of Trustees.

Enc. (1)

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1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/83 BY SP8/BJL

100-17808-136



January 7, 19

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS, FEBRUARY 18, 1947

The Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc. will be held five P. M. on Tuesday, February 18, 1947, at the National office, One East Fifty-four Street, New York, for the election of the Board of Trustees and for action upon such other matters as may properly come before the said meeting.

The following pages contain the ballot for the election of the Board, listing nominations presented by the Nominating Committee in accordance with the By-Laws.

Preceding the ballot is a formal proxy which you are asked to sign and return, together with the ballot. Your proxy or proxies will cast your vote in accordance with the instructions contained in your returned ballot. In some categories, the number of nominees exceeds the number to be elected from that category. It will be necessary therefore for you to indicate your choices by a check placed in front of each name for which you wish to vote. For your convenience there is enclosed and addressed, a prepaid envelope.

In order to obtain a quorum for the election of the Board, it is essential that proxies be returned very promptly.

Edward C. Carter  
Executive Vice-Chairman

\* \* \* \* \*

PROXY

FOR ANNUAL MEETING OF MEMBERS, Tuesday, February 18, 1947

THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBER of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., hereby constitutes and appoints Marguerite Stewart and Arthur Dean, each of them, the true and lawful attorneys, agents and proxies of the undersigned, with full power of substitution and revocation to each of them, to vote, as the attorneys, agents and proxies of the undersigned at the Annual Meeting of the members of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., a membership corporation of the District of Columbia, to be held at the National office of said American Institute of Pacific Relations, One East Fifty-four Street, New York, at five P. M., Tuesday, February 18, 1947, and at any adjournment of the said meeting, for the election of the Trustees of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., whose names appear on the accompanying ballot, for the year beginning February 18, 1947, and to vote upon any other matters that may properly come before the said meeting or any adjournment thereof, with all powers which the undersigned would possess if personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming all that the said attorneys, agents and proxies, or either of them who shall be present and act at the said meeting, or their substitute or substitutes may lawfully do in or about the premises by virtue hereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned has executed this instrument under seal the day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1947.

Vote for ELEVEN

SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION

- \_\_\_\_ 1. CAMERON, GEORGE T.; Publisher, San Francisco Chronicle
- \_\_\_\_ 2. GRADY, HENRY F.; President, American President Lines
- \_\_\_\_ 3. HANSEN, O. C.; Frazer and Hansen Import-Export Company
- \_\_\_\_ 4. KOSHLAND, DANIEL E.; Vice-President and Treasurer, Levi Strauss and Company
- \_\_\_\_ 5. LAPHEAM, LEWIS; Assistant to the President, American Hawaiian Steamship Company
- \_\_\_\_ 6. MAY, RENE A.; Getz Bros., Exporters
- \_\_\_\_ 7. SPROUL, ROBERT GORDON; President, University of California; National Chairman, American I.P.R.
- \_\_\_\_ 8. TRESIDDER, DONALD B.; President, Stanford University
- \_\_\_\_ 9. WHITE, LYNN, JR.; President, Mills College; Executive Vice-Chairman, San Francisco I.P.R.
- \_\_\_\_ 10. WILBUR, BRAYTON; Wilbur-Ellis Co.; former President, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce
- \_\_\_\_ 11. ZELLERBACH, J. D.; President, Crown-Zellerbach Corporation; Director, California State Chamber of Commerce
- \_\_\_\_ 12. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for FOUR

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION

- \_\_\_\_ 1. COONS, ARTHUR G.; President, Occidental College
- \_\_\_\_ 2. CLARKE, DWIGHT L.; President, Occidental Life Insurance Company
- \_\_\_\_ 3. DYKSTRA, CLARENCE A.; Provost, University of California at Los Angeles
- \_\_\_\_ 4. HEINEMAN, IRENE T.; Assistant Superintendent, California State Department of Education
- \_\_\_\_ 5. NELSON, DONALD M.; President, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers; Chairman, Southern California I.P.R.
- \_\_\_\_ 6. ROSECRANS, WILLIAM S.; President, W. S. Rosecrans, Inc.; Past President, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce
- \_\_\_\_ 7. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for FIVE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

- \_\_\_\_ 1. DE CAUX, LEN; Publicity Director, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Editor, CIO News
- \_\_\_\_ 2. GRAVES, MORTIMER; Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies; Vice-Chairman, Washington I.P.R.; National Vice-Chairman, American I.P.R.
- \_\_\_\_ 3. LATTIMORE, OWEN; Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University; Chairman, Research Advisory Committee, American I.P.R.
- \_\_\_\_ 4. MOFFAT, ABBOT LOW; Southeast Asian Affairs Division, U. S. Department of State
- \_\_\_\_ 5. WELLES, SUMNER; Writer and Commentator; Chairman, Washington I.P.R.; formerly Under-Secretary of State
- \_\_\_\_ 6. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .



BALLOT

FOR ELECTION TO HOLD OFFICE BEGINNING FEBRUARY 18, 1947

In accordance with the By-Laws, each member, regardless of geographical division, is entitled to vote for the Trustees to be elected from every division. Accordingly, each member is asked to designate his or her choices under all the categories indicated below.

The following nominations have been presented by the Nominating Committee, but blank spaces have been provided for any other person or persons for whom the members may prefer to vote.

Vote for ONE

BOSTON

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. FAIRBANK, JOHN K.: Professor of Political Science, Associate Chairman of China Program, Harvard University; served until 1946 with U. S. Department of State in China
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for ONE

CHICAGO

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. WRIGHT, MRS. LOUISE L.; Director, Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for FIVE

HAWAII

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. ATHERTON, J. BALLARD: Vice-President, Secretary and General Manager, Mutual Telephone Company, Honolulu
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. AUCHTER, E. C.: President and Director, Pineapple Research Institute of Hawaii
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. DILLINGHAM, WALTER F.; President, Hawaiian Dredging Company; President, Oahu Railway and Land Co.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. SINCLAIR, GREGG M.; President, University of Hawaii; Founder of the School of Pacific and Asiatic Studies; formerly taught in Japan
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. WRENN, HEATON L.; Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn and Jenks, Honolulu
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for ONE

INLAND EMPIRE (Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho)

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. MARTIN, BOYD A.; Professor of Political Science, University of Idaho
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for THREE

PACIFIC NORTHWEST

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. ALLEN, EDWARD W.; Attorney: Allen, Froude and Hilen, Seattle
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. ALLEN, RAYMOND B.; President, University of Washington
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. MARTIN, CHARLES E.; Professor of Political Science, University of Washington
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_\_ . . . . .

Vote for TEN

NEW YORK

1. CARTER, EDWARD C.; National Executive Vice-Chairman, American I.P.R.; formerly, Secretary General, Pacific Council, I.P.R.
2. CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH P.; Columbia University; National Vice-Chairman, American I.P.R.
3. CURTIS, JOHN L.; Assistant Vice-President, National City Bank
4. DEAN, ARTHUR H.; Attorney: Sullivan and Cromwell
5. FIELD, FREDERICK V.; Vice-President and Treasurer, Afco International Inc., Exporters; Member, Editorial Board, New Masses
6. GAMBLE, CHARLES K.; Director, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company
7. JILCHRIST, HUNTINGTON; American Cyanamid Company
8. GOODRICH, CARRINGTON; Executive Officer, Department of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University
9. HEPPNER, RICHARD P.; Attorney: Donovan, Leisure, Newton, Lumbard and Irvine
10. HEROD, WILLIAM R.; President, International General Electric Co.
11. STRAUS, DONALD B.; Management Employee Relations Inc.
12. TEWESBURY, DONALD; Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Specialist in Far Eastern Education; Chairman, Education Advisory Committee of the American I.P.R.
13. . . . .

Vote for FOURTEEN

NOT OTHERWISE DESIGNATED

1. ARNDT, CHRISTIAN O.; Professor of Education, New York University; Member, Education Advisory Committee, American I.P.R.
2. BIGGERSTAFF, KNIGHT; Chairman, Department of Chinese Studies, Cornell University
3. BOLTON, FRANCES P.; United States Congressman from Ohio
4. CRESSEY, GEORGE B.; Chairman, Department of Geography, Syracuse University
5. CURRIE, LAUCHLIN; International Development Company; Special Emissary to China for President Roosevelt in 1941
6. DYKE, KEN R.; Vice-President, National Broadcasting Company
7. EMENY, BROOKS; President, Council on World Affairs, Cleveland; National Treasurer, American I.P.R.
8. EMERSON, RUPERT; Professor, Political Science, Associate Chairman of International Affairs Program, Harvard University; Member, Research Advisory Committee, American I.P.R.
9. HERSEY, JOHN R.; Author
10. HOFFMAN, PAUL G.; President, Studebaker Corporation, South Bend, Indiana
11. KIZER, BENJAMIN H.; Attorney, Spokane; former Director of UNRRA in China; former Vice-Chairman, American I.P.R.
12. LITTLE, HERBERT S.; Attorney: Little, Leader, Lesourd and Palmer, Seattle; Chairman, Northwest I.P.R.
13. LOCKWOOD, WILLIAM W.; Assistant Director, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; formerly Secretary, American I.P.R.
14. MCKEEVER, PORTER; Press Officer, United States Delegation to the United Nations
15. ROCKWOOD, CHARLES; Export Department, Wah Chong Trading Corporation
16. ROWE, DAVID N.; Director of Far Eastern Studies, Yale University; Member, Research Advisory Committee, American I.P.R.
17. TRIPPE, JUAN; President, Pan-American Airways, New York
18. WALLACE, HENRY A.; Editor, New Republic; formerly Secretary of Commerce
19. WILBUR, RAY LYMAN; Chancellor, Stanford University, California
20. . . . .

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

DATE: March 22, 1947

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
 Bureau file 100-64700

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau are two photostatic copies of a letter dated March 17, 1947, received by mail from the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC., together with enclosures.

This literature announces a special meeting to consider charges made by ALFRED KOHLBERG, concerning Communist domination of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, and requests proxies to support the present administration of the organization.

It will be noted that the new board of trustees, elected on February 18, 1947, include, among others, FREDERICK V. FIELD, OWEN LATTIMORE, EDWARD C. CARTER, MORTIMER GRAVES, BROOKS EMERY and LAUCHLIN CURRY.

Enclosures - 2

*Photocopies to AG  
 3-31-50 in 100-24628-372  
 by LLL:ew*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 3/14/83 BY SP6/CK

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AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

HONOLULU • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • SEATTLE • WASHINGTON, D. C.

1 EAST 54th STREET  
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.  
Eldorado 3-1759

March 17, 1947

Dear Fellow Member:

For over two years, Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, a former member of the American Institute of Pacific Relations and an importer with substantial business interests in China, has been carrying on a campaign charging the Institute with bias in its treatment of the contemporary situation in the Far East, especially in China.

In any country as wartorn as China, there may well develop honest differences as to the factors which underlie the current difficulties and, consequently, as to the course which will lead to a solution. Feelings naturally run high. But no reader can draw as severe criticisms of the Kuomintang Government from the publications of the IPR as those set forth in General Marshall's report to President Truman.

You will note in the enclosure entitled "An Attempt to Stifle IPR Scrutiny of the Chinese Situation" that as one of the many efforts to meet Mr. Kohlberg's demands, he has been offered the privilege of mailing his accusations on March 20th to the entire membership of the American IPR. In this mailing, we understand, he will ask the members for proxies to be posted direct to him, authorizing him at a members' meeting on April 22nd to introduce a resolution appointing a committee to investigate his charges.

The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees has investigated Mr. Kohlberg's charges and found them inaccurate and irresponsible.

We, the undersigned, have been connected with the IPR over a period of years. We have observed its research and educational program closely and have no hesitation in stating that the charges are false. We believe that you will agree with us that the IPR has an enviable record for unbiased and scholarly research. The enclosed excerpts of letters from recognized experts on the Far East are only some of the many that have been received emphasizing the high regard in which IPR publications are held by scholars. Some of the very publications criticized by Mr. Kohlberg have been highly

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praised by Army, Navy, and State Department officials in a position to know the facts and were extensively used by the armed services during the war. Indeed, so useful were IPR materials to the war effort that the American IPR was awarded the Navy "E" in 1945.

Please sign the enclosed proxy and return it by quickest mail if you wish to support the present administration of the American IPR under the direction of the recently elected Board of Trustees whose names you will find enclosed. We hope that you will be present to vote in person. But in any case we urge that you send in your proxy. If you attend in person, your proxy will not be used.

Sincerely yours,

*Joseph P. Chamberlain*  
Joseph P. Chamberlain

*Arthur H. Dean*  
Arthur H. Dean

*W. F. Dillingham*  
Walter F. Dillingham

*W. R. Herod*  
W. R. Herod

*Brooks Emery*  
Brooks Emery

*Huntington Gilchrist*  
Huntington Gilchrist

*Philip C. Jessup*  
Philip C. Jessup



NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING

of

Members of

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

to be held at its offices, 1 East 54th Street, New York City  
at 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, April 22, 1947

---

PURPOSE OF THE MEETING

Considering a resolution to be proposed by Alfred Kohlberg  
appointing a committee to investigate certain charges of  
Alfred Kohlberg, and such other business as may properly  
come before the meeting.

MARGUERITE ANN STEWART  
Secretary

Please cut along this line and sign and return the proxy to the offices of the  
American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York 22.

---

P R O X Y

The undersigned member of the American Institute of Pacific  
Relations, Inc., does hereby constitute and appoint ARTHUR H.  
DEAN and JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, or either of them, with full  
power of substitution, as my duly constituted proxies and  
attorneys to vote in my behalf against any and all proposals  
made by Alfred Kohlberg at a meeting of the members on Tuesday,  
April 22nd, 1947. or any adjournment thereof, and to vote in  
favor of sustaining the policies of the Board of Trustees, with  
all the power I would possess if personally present, hereby  
ratifying and confirming all my proxies and attorneys may do  
in my behalf.

(sign here) \_\_\_\_\_

Member

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

NATIONAL BOARD OF TRUSTEES  
elected at the annual meeting of members  
February 18, 1947

EDWARD W. ALLEN - Attorney: Allen, Froude & Wilen, Seattle.  
RAYMOND B. ALLEN - President, University of Washington.  
CHRISTIAN O. ARNDT - Professor of Education, New York University; Member,  
Education Advisory Committee, American IPR.  
J. BALLARD ATHERTON - Vice-President, Secretary and General Manager, Mutual  
Telephone Company, Honolulu.  
E. C. AUCHTER - President and Director, Pineapple Research Institute of Hawaii.  
KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF - Chairman, Department of Chinese Studies, Cornell University.  
GEORGE T. CAMERON - Publisher, San Francisco Chronicle.  
EDWARD C. CARTER - National Executive Vice-Chairman, American IPR; formerly,  
Secretary-General, Pacific Council, IPR.  
JOSEPH P. CHAMPERLAIN - Columbia University; National Vice-Chairman, American IPR.  
ARTHUR G. COONS - President, Occidental College.  
GEORGE B. CRESSEY - Chairman, Department of Geography, Syracuse University.  
LAUCHLIN CURRIE - International Development Company; Special Emissary to  
China for President Roosevelt in 1941.  
JOHN L. CURTIS - Assistant Vice-President, National City Bank.  
LEN DE CAUX - Publicity Director, Congress of Industrial Organizations;  
Editor, CIO News.  
ARTHUR H. DEAN - Attorney: Sullivan & Cromwell, New York.  
WALTER F. DILLINGHAM - President, Hawaiian Dredging Company; President, Oahu  
Railway and Land Company.  
CLARENCE A. DYKSTRA - Provost, University of California at Los Angeles.  
BROOKS EMEY - President, Council on World Affairs, Cleveland; National  
Treasurer, American IPR.  
RUPERT EMERSON - Professor, Political Science, Associate Chairman of International  
Affairs Program, Harvard University; Member, Research Advisory Committee,  
American IPR.  
JOHN K. FAIRBANK - Professor of Political Science, Associate Chairman of China  
Program, Harvard University; served until 1946 with U. S. Department of State  
in China.  
FREDERICK V. FIELD - Vice-President and Treasurer, Afco International Inc.,  
Exporters; Member, Editorial Board, New Masses.  
CHARLES K. GAMBLE - Director, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company.  
HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST - American Cyanamid Company.  
CARRINGTON GOODRICH - Executive Officer, Department of Chinese and Japanese,  
Columbia University.  
HENRY F. GRADY - President, American President Lines.  
MORTIMER GRAVES - Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies; Vice-  
Chairman, Washington IPR; National Vice-Chairman, American IPR.  
O. C. HANSEN - Frazar and Hansen Import-Export Company.  
WILLIAM R. HEROD - President, International General Electric Company.  
JOHN R. HERSEY - Author.

BENJAMIN H. KIZER - Attorney, Spokane; former Director of UNRRA in China; former Vice-Chairman, American IPR.

DANIEL E. KOSHLAND - Vice-President and Treasurer, Levi Strauss and Company.

LEWIS L. LAPHAM - Assistant to the President, American Hawaiian Steamship Company.

OWEN LATTIMORE - Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University; Chairman, Research Advisory Committee, American IPR.

HEREERT S. LITTLE - Attorney: Little, Leader, Lesourd & Palmer, Seattle; Chairman, Northwest IPR.

WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD - Assistant Director, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; formerly Secretary, American IPR.

BOYD A. MARTIN - Professor of Political Science, University of Idaho.

CHARLES E. MARTIN - Professor of Political Science, University of Washington.

RENE A. MAY - Getz Brothers, Exporters.

ABBOT LOW MOFFAT - Southeast Asian Affairs Division, U. S. Department of State.

DONALD M. NELSON - President, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers; Chairman, Southern California IPR.

DAVID N. ROWE - Director of Far Eastern Studies, Yale University; Member, Research Advisory Committee, American IPR.

GREGG M. SINCLAIR - President, University of Hawaii; Founder of the School of Pacific and Asiatic Studies; formerly taught in Japan.

ROBERT GORDON SPROUL - President, University of California; National Chairman, American IPR.

DONALD TEWKSEBURY - Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Specialist in Far Eastern Education; Chairman, Education Advisory Committee, American IPR.

DONALD B. TRESIDDER - President, Stanford University.

SUMNER WELLES - Writer and Commentator; Chairman, Washington IPR; formerly Under Secretary of State.

LYNN WHITE jr - President, Mills College; Executive Vice-Chairman, San Francisco IPR.

BRAYTON WILBUR - Wilbur-Ellis Company; former President, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR - Chancellor, Stanford University.

HEATON L. WRENN - Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn & Jenks, Honolulu.

LOUISE L. WRIGHT - Director, Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago.

J. D. ZELLERBACH - President, Crown-Zellerbach Corporation; Director, California State Chamber of Commerce.

# *Far Eastern Specialists in Universities*

and

## *The Attack on the IPR*

**Knight Biggerstaff, Chairman, Department of Chinese Studies, Cornell University; served under the State Department, in China, during the war:**

"I note in *Windows on the Pacific* that some IPR writers have been accused of supporting a Communist line. I cannot believe that anyone who really follows the publications of the IPR could honestly reach such a conclusion. I have always been impressed with the scrupulousness with which the IPR has striven to be impartial in its presentation of all subjects . . . I know of no organization concerned with the study of a region of the world which surpasses the IPR in quality of scholarly research, objectivity, or devotion to public education." *December 31, 1946*

**John K. Fairbank, Associate Chairman of China Program, Harvard University; served under the State Department, in China, during the war:**

"I know of no other Institute or group of workers which have contributed anything like as much to scholarly research and public education on the Far East during the last fifteen years. This has been really a national service and should not be impaired by sensitivity to the emotionalism of pressure groups." *December 2, 1946*

**Harold H. Fisher, Director, Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace and, Professor of History, Stanford University:**

"For over 25 years I have been a practising historian, specializing in the history of Russia and international relations. Since anyone specializing in Russia is sometimes under suspicion, I believe I should add that I enjoyed the friendship of the late Count V. N. Kokovtsov, Minister of Finance and Prime Minister of the Russian Empire under Nicholas II. I had the privilege of editing his memoirs. I have also edited the memoirs of V. I. Gurko, Assistant Minister of the Interior and member of the Russian State Council under the Czar. . . .

"In the course of my teaching at Stanford and elsewhere and in connection with the work I carried on for the Army and Navy during the war, I have used, I believe, all of the IPR publications that relate to Russia, practically all of those that relate to Japan, and many of those that relate to China and Southeast Asia. In the preparation of handbooks for Military Government, I was obliged to make intensive use of IPR publications on Japan.

"On the basis of this experience, I am prepared to say without reservation, that I have found no book or publication issued under the auspices of the IPR that follows the Communist Party line or that could be described as presenting the Communist point of view on issues on which there is a distinct and unmistakable Communist position." *January 4, 1947*

**Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Yale University:**

"My judgment is that the attack on the IPR is entirely unwarranted. . . . I know of no set of publications that across the years has maintained as high a standard of careful, scrupulously honest, unbiased scholarship. The Institute of Pacific Relations has had and maintains the very highest standards of careful research and honest reporting." *November 28, 1946*

**Raymond Kennedy, Associate Professor of Sociology, Yale University:**

"I cannot understand how any fair-minded person could honestly raise any doubts about the scrupulous impartiality of IPR publications dealing with the Orient. I have made extensive use of many of these publications, both periodical articles and books, in my research and as reading for students in classes at Yale; and I have never had any reason to doubt the honesty and scientific integrity of these sources. . . . The *Far Eastern Survey* is, in my opinion, the best source of current information about Far Eastern developments, and under the expert editorship of Mr. Salisbury it has attained consistently high standards." *December 9, 1946*

**William W. Lockwood, Assistant Director, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; served with the Office of Strategic Services, in China, during the war:**

"I know of no reputable scholars in American universities who know the work of the IPR, who take seriously the charge that IPR publications maintain a systematic bias for or against any particular country or social philosophy, except for a broad emphasis on the values of democracy, peace and human welfare. On the contrary, IPR publications have long been the standard reliance of teachers and research workers in the Far Eastern field who want collections of scientific data, analysis, and varied opinion on recent (economic, political and social) developments in the Pacific area. It would be easy to collect a volume of testimony to this effect. . . . It is by the practice of broad hospitality to a variety of responsible viewpoints that the IPR has contributed to an understanding of Pacific problems. Had it confined itself to collections of uninterpreted fact, avoiding all 'hot' issues, it would have failed in its job." *December 20, 1946*

**Donald G. Tewksbury, Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University:**

"For a number of years I have been acquainted with the work of the American Council and have used its research materials in my graduate classes at Columbia University. The intellectual standards maintained in the research publications of the Council are of the highest order, and nowhere else is it possible to secure materials on China and the various countries in the Pacific with such a broad range of fact and opinion as in these materials. . . . The Chinese situation is indeed a very complicated one, as evidenced recently in the authoritative statement of January 7th, 1947, by General George Marshall. It is imperative that all the facts relative to this situation be made available to public and academic leaders in the United States, in order that sound judgments may be made. My colleagues at Columbia University would join me in affirming that the American Council has been outstanding in its contributions to public understanding in this regard." *February 17, 1947*

Additional copies of this list of quotations may be obtained by members on request, or complete copies of the letters from which the above quotations have been taken will be sent if desired.

*American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.*



## **An Attempt to Stifle IPR Scrutiny of the Chinese Situation**

A problem to which the Executive Committee has had to devote considerable attention during the past two years, has been an organized pressure campaign on the part of a former member, with strong sympathies toward one faction in the Chinese political scene, in an effort to force the Institute to abandon its impartial, critical treatment of Far Eastern questions in the case of China.

Using the familiar tactic of trying to label the organization Communist, he has carried on a propaganda mailing campaign against the Institute periodically since late 1944, aided by one or two professionally "red-baiting" magazines as well as the Hearst press. In November 1944, he circulated an 88-page document, 34 pages of which contained paragraphs from IPR publications over the past seven years, largely *taken out of context*, while 41 pages were devoted to excerpts from Communist publications, which he alleged "followed the same line" as the IPR with regard to China.

In February of 1945, he instituted a legal proceeding to compel the American IPR to provide him with its membership list. After some months, however, the case was settled out of court when the complainant finally agreed to accept the offer made previously by the IPR to permit him to lay his case before the members.

The charge of the complainant was that many IPR publications were "prepared by staff writers employed by the American Council, which staff writers had an extensive background of Communist activity, and which staff writers in said articles presented inaccurate, untrue, false and misleading facts, opinions and conclusions which, in effect, constituted effective Communist propaganda and which, being published and circulated during the course of the war between the United States of America and the Government of Japan have given aid and comfort to the enemy by tending to create dissension and disunity among the Chinese people and between the Chinese Nation and the United States Government who are allied in the war effort against Japan."

The complainant further charged the staff writers of the Institute with being "unpatriotic, biased, uninformed and incompetent." In support of his charges, he presented the 88-page document already described.

This document fails utterly to substantiate the charges. Not only are its contents taken out of context; they cover but a fraction of the material published by the Institute in the period under criticism—less than 2 per cent of the articles published and .002 per cent of the books—33 articles and book reviews, 3 pamphlets, and *one* book during a period when IPR publications totaled nearly 2,000 articles and book reviews and some 385 books and pamphlets.

Nor do the facts bear out the charge of political bias on the part of IPR staff writers, though the organization judges its employees not on the basis of their personal opinions but on their competence.

The complainant obviously did not take the trouble to find out who the staff members of the American IPR are. Of a total of twenty-five authors and contributors to IPR publications cited in his document, only *seven* had ever been employed by the IPR and only four were on the staff at the time of his charges. Of these, only *one* was employed by the American IPR. Of the four

IPR staff members whose work was criticized by Mr. Komberg, two—T. A. Bisson of the International Secretariat and Miriam Farley of the American IPR staff—now hold responsible positions on General MacArthur's staff in Japan.

Equally unfounded is the statement that IPR publications reflect prejudice against the Chinese government. As a matter of fact, they have included not only criticisms, but also praise of China; they have, from time to time, included materials criticizing not only Chinese policies, but also those of Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and other Allied Nations. While it is contrary to Institute policy to express opinions on public affairs, and a statement to that effect is carried in most IPR publications, the Institute does not seek to escape responsibility either for the standards maintained in its publications, or for the selection of material which it publishes. Its policy in this regard has been publicly stated as adhering to the "principles of complete freedom of scientific inquiry, broad hospitality to all points of view, but subservience to none."

In selecting materials for publication, the organization is guided by various considerations, including the scholarly merit of the material, the importance of the subject, and its public interest. So far as is humanly possible, it endeavors to assure the accuracy of all facts appearing in its publications. Most of its books and pamphlets are sent out in manuscript form to a number of competent critics. It does not attempt to impose censorship on opinions, neither does it solicit manuscripts exclusively from persons of a single viewpoint. On the contrary, believing that truth is arrived at only in an atmosphere of free discussion, it aims to present information reflecting different and often conflicting opinions.

After satisfying themselves that the charges against the Institute were invalid, the Executive Committee offered to have them considered by an impartial committee consisting of a well-known lawyer, a newspaper editor, and the former president of one of America's most distinguished women's colleges. This, however, was not accepted by the complainant. Later, the Committee agreed to grant the complainant the use of the American Council membership list if he would refrain from including libelous statements in the materials he sent out. This too, was refused at first, but was accepted a year and a half later, when the Institute agreed to allow him to send out anything he wished, whether libelous or not, with a request to the members for their support in conducting an investigation of the IPR.

The high standard maintained by IPR publications is widely recognized and generally respected, not only by its members and subscribers, but by such organizations as the United States Navy, which granted the American Council an award in 1945, for "meritorious service in connection with the United States war effort," and the Rockefeller Foundation, which in its annual report of 1943, described the Institute as "the most important single source of independent studies of the problems of the Pacific Area and the Far East." No further investigation should be required to prove their merit.

*From Windows On the Pacific, the biennial report of the Board, 1944-46, (with a few changes to bring it up to date.)*

*Additional copies may be obtained from  
American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc.  
1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.*

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

DATE: March 25, 1947

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Bureau file 100-64700

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau are two photostatic copies of a letter dated March 18, 1947, addressed "To my fellow members of the American Institute of Pacific Relations". In this letter and enclosures, Mr. ALFRED KOHLBERG attempts to show the pro-Communist affiliations of some members of the Institute of Pacific Relations staff and the close adherence of the Institute, of Pacific Relations to the Communist line.

Mr. KOHLBERG also solicits proxies for the appointment of a Special Committee to investigate Communist influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is noted that the present officers are soliciting proxies in their support. A special meeting is scheduled for April 22, 1947.

Enclosures - 2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/83 BY SP6 BAC/LS

RECORDED & INDEXED

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# ALFRED KOHLBERG INC.

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March 18, 1947

To my fellow members of the American  
Institute of Pacific Relations:

from Wash., D. C.

By order of the Supreme  
Court of the State of New York, this  
letter is being mailed to you by the  
American Institute of Pacific Rela-  
tions, Inc.

Early in July 1943 I was  
told by several Americans in Chung-  
king that "the Chinese Government  
was hoarding tanks and guns given  
them under lend-lease to use against  
the Japs." Late in August, having  
spent six weeks traveling through  
Szechuen, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Hunan and Yunnan, I called on Brig.  
Gen. Arms, U. S. Army, Commander of the Infantry Training School  
in Kunming. Among other items I asked why we permitted such  
hoarding. He laughed and said he'd heard some good ones, but  
this took the cake. He said that up to that date all the arms  
and ammunition that had come in had gone to him and to the artil-  
lery training school; that they were not fully equipped as yet  
and, until they were, nothing would be flown in (the air route  
over the hump to Kunming being the only route in) for any other  
force except the air force whose minimum requirements were the  
first priority. He explained that nothing but air-force supplies  
had come in since May, due to the monsoons. After the monsoons  
ended, he expected the resumption of his equipping; and after that  
was completed, he explained, General Stilwell was to get full equip-  
ment for two of his divisions, and then, after that, 50% was to go  
to Stilwell and 50% to the Chinese Army--sometime in 1944. At  
that moment, he said, not one tank or gun or rifle or bazooka or  
cartridge had been turned over to the Chinese Army under lend-  
lease--hence none could be hoarded.

On returning to the United States, I spoke of this and  
other reports with some heat and was told by friends that the IPR  
was the chief culprit in the spreading of lies about China, and  
that the motivation back of it was Communism. I had been a member  
of the IPR since 1928, but like most business men and (as I later  
learned) like most of their Board of Trustees, I seldom read the  
literature they sent me, and like most people knew nothing about  
Communism.

(printed on both sides to conserve paper)

### Rep. Judd Asks "NEWS" Probe of Group's Mar. 13, 1947 'Soviet Policies'

By United Press

Rep. Walter H. Judd (R., Minn.),  
today asked the House un-American  
Activities Committee to investigate  
"pro-Soviet policies" of the Institute  
of Pacific Relations.

"It has been extremely disturbing to  
note the consistency with which some  
of its officers and writers are faithful  
to the line of the Communist Party  
and the Soviet government," Rep. Judd  
said.

To check on these charges, I read through the FAR EASTERN SURVEY and our quarterly PACIFIC AFFAIRS from 1937 to that date (summer of 1944). In my reading I read every article on the political and military situation in China and skipped nearly everything else. Then, to learn the Communist line, I read all the articles on the political and military situation in China in the NEW MASSES (weekly) and THE COMMUNIST (monthly), both being Communist Party official publications.

In the course of this reading I learned that the IPR and the Communist publications had switched their attitude or "line" on the situation in China several times between 1937 and 1944; both IPR and Communists making the same switches at the same time. Further I noticed that to some extent they interchanged writers and both quoted the same authorities; that they were both lyrical in their reviews of the same books; but that, of the three, the NEW MASSES (possibly because it was franker and more open in taking sides) had the best documented articles. In fact, if the IPR had disregarded whatever information sources it had (if any) and relied only on the NEW MASSES, it would have omitted little that it published on the Chinese military and political scene.

The switches in line, to which I referred, were as follows:

1. Beginning 1937 and up to the end of 1939 the IPR articles uniformly praised the Government of Chiang Kai-shek.
2. After the Hitler-Stalin alliance of Aug. 23, 1939, the IPR soured on Chiang Kai-shek and by 1941 were stating that in the Government of China "certain quarters" were "pro-Nazi" and were "willing to make peace with Japan." "Fascist ideas were popularized among and praised by Kuomintang members." (Compare Lattimore's secret letter to E. C. Carter in the enclosed article from "Plain Talk.")
3. Then came the day that shook the pro-Communist world when Hitler invaded Russia, June 22, 1941. That day was a Sunday, if I remember correctly, and it caught Frederick V. Field, formerly Secretary and now member of the Executive Committee of the IPR, leading the picket-line in front of the White House with placards proclaiming "F.D.R. is a war-monger" and "The Yanks are NOT coming." This same day caught the IPR and the Communist press equally flat-footed. So the IPR and Communist line switched again to the most fulsome praise of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (they had never criticized Russia, of course.) No longer did they charge Chiang Kai-shek with "negotiating to join the Axis." This praise of Chiang Kai-shek's government continued until the summer of 1943.
4. Beginning in the Summer of '43, both IPR and the Communist press changed to abuse of China.



After completing my study, I published extracts from the IPR and the Communist press in an 88 page booklet and sent it with a letter to Mr. E. C. Carter and each of our Trustees and to personal acquaintances interested in China. (You may have a copy of this and later correspondence for the asking.)

At that time I thought that Mr. Carter, who was then President of Russian War Relief, was so busy that he had let some Reds on the staff run off with the Institute. I called on him and the Trustees to fire these Reds and exercise a real control over their publications. (That was November 1944.) The answer of the Executive Committee was to issue a letter stating that they did not think my charges "merited serious consideration." (Two of them told me later that they had not read the study.) They then turned the charges and study over to the staff (against whom the charges were filed) to be studied and answered. By April 1945 the staff had prepared a 52 page answer of which I only learned in 1946 and of which even the Chairman of the Trustees couldn't get a copy to give me. I finally obtained a copy by court order in October 1946.

Since 1944 I have learned much more about the IPR; its apparently completely Communist or pro-Communist staff; that all articles on Far Eastern politics are written by Communists or pro-Communists (some articles on economic, scientific, geographic questions are not); and that it has ties through interlocking directorates or staff with various Communist or pro-Communist organizations.

Through its influence in the staffing of the State Department, Army and Navy Intelligence and Far Eastern Divisions; of UNRRA, of OWI and even General MacArthur's staff, our Institute has put considerable numbers of Communists and pro-Communists where they could and have done the most possible harm and spread the most confusion. How far they have succeeded is strikingly illustrated by comparing the present confusion in our attitude to China with the statement handed to Ambassador Nomura on Nov. 26, 1941, which laid down the terms on which we would restore peaceful relations with Japan (ruptured by the blockade declared July 25, 1941). Hull's essential demand was:

"4. The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support - militarily, politically, economically - any Government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with capital temporarily at Chungking."

To attempt to prove my statements is impossible in this letter. They are proven in part by the study and correspondence referred to above, which will be sent you on request.

My attempts to arouse Mr. Carter and our Trustees to investigation and action have failed. Several Trustees, including several of the Executive Committee have resigned, claiming that they were worried by the charges of Communism, but had no time to look into them so thought they'd better get out. Our Board

of Trustees (47) scattered all over the country never meets. The Executive Committee (10) is chairmaned by a Californian who never attends. The connections of the others are as per attached sheet. Most of our Trustees are, of course, not Communists and furthermore don't take Communists very seriously. Their attitude is very similar to that of a witness before the Senate Atomic Committee (as reported in the New York Sun 2/22/47).

Cameron said that he roomed with Hart and knew that his roommate held Marxist views. was sympathetic to Russia, and read the Daily Worker, Communist paper, but did not know that he was a Communist.

If our Institute is to be saved for the useful work it can and should do in soundly and objectively posting American scholars, teachers and writers on the Far East, we, the members, will have to do the job. The first step is to appoint a Board of Investigators to listen to my charges and dig out the facts. Some of the gentlemen named in the enclosed proxy are known to me, some are not, but all bear reputations as good Americans informed on the Far East. I have not asked them if they will serve and cannot do so until I hold sufficient proxies. I have no doubt that enough will accept to make up a satisfactory board.

In order to keep this letter within reasonable length, I have omitted going into the following:

1. Many of the staff and writers have no real claim to scholarship in the fields they cover.
2. Much of the material published is plagiarized for the above reasons.
3. Our staff and officers were instrumental in forming the violently pro-Communist "Committee for a Far Eastern Democratic Policy."
4. Our staff and officers were instrumental in maintaining the pro-Communist "Japanese American Committee for Democracy."
5. Our staff and officers conducted a pressure mail campaign to force N.B.C. to continue the war-time "Pacific Story"--a Communist angled dramatic half hour.
6. Our staff and officers have sponsored and published books and articles by such known Communists as Abraham Chapman, Jos. S. Allen, Harriett L. Moore, Philip Jaffe, Anna Louise Strong, Frederick V. Field.
7. Members of our Board of Trustees and our staff managed to get control of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, UNRRA and OWI, where they loaded all three with pro-Communists. Two of them, Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent, accompanied Henry Wallace to China in 1944 and talked that adolescent into reporting to Roosevelt that "we were backing the wrong horse in China" and that "Chiang Kai-shek's government would collapse

Sheet No. 5

within 90 days." Just prior to that much heralded trip of that great friend of the "common man," IPR published a booklet by Henry Wallace, "Our Job in the Pacific" which they knew he had not written.

8. Four of the six persons arrested in the "Amerasia" case were connected with the IPR.

I no longer believe the officers and Executive Committee can clean up the Institute.

After such an Investigating Committee has completed its investigation and reported, action will then be up to us. Our Trustees will not act and if we wait until Congressional investigation reaches us, it may be too late to save our institution and even our good reputations.

May I have your proxy?

Very truly yours,



Alfred Kohlberg

AK:AM  
Encl.

(Please turn over)

# IPR--TOKYO AXIS

By SHEPPARD MARLEY

SOME TIME AGO the Institute of Pacific Relations placed the following notice in the "Personals" column of the *Saturday Review of Literature*:

Long on curiosity—short on time? IPR popular pamphlets make you a scintillating conversationalist on the Far East. You can deftly discuss everything from Australian slang to the problems of China and the Philippines. Send for a list of Institute of Pacific Relations pamphlets today. Box 939-K.

If a reader of this semi-intellectual lonely-hearts column had made a slight error in the box number and written 938-K instead of the IPR's 939-K, he would have received an answer from the gentleman who inserted the following notice in the same issue: "Will lady in a quiet castle seek spiritual relaxation through exchange of correspondence with a highly learned gentleman?"

What the IPR copywriter deftly neglected to mention in this prospectus designed for the busy dilettante was that the publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations are likely to make the deft conversationalist sound similar to a *Daily Worker* editorial, though on a much more genteel level. For the IPR is still another of the respectable monied organizations into which fellow-travelers have infiltrated and have developed workers in their own image. The peculiar conjuncture of social conditions and psychological ailments which has resulted in the dissemination of Stalinist propaganda by groups supported mainly with capitalist money is a problem for the academicians. Here we merely offer another case study.

The Institute of Pacific Relations

came into being in July, 1925, in Honolulu, at an international conference of which the chief engineer was Mr. Edward C. Carter, the present executive vice-chairman of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations and apparently its most influential officer. The intricate nature of the administrative set-up of the Institute makes it ideal for control by a few well-placed persons. Small wonder then that many of its leading and most prolific writers are dependable fellow-travelers who faithfully follow the tortuous path Stalin sets—even if they have to slow down around the sharp turns of Soviet policy.

The Institute's activity seldom reaches any large section of the public directly, and few persons know that it exists. It is doubtful if 1 out of 1,000 of the parents of boys who fought their way across the Pacific, from Guadalcanal to Okinawa, has ever heard of this organization. Yet in government circles, including those where America's high policy in the Pacific is determined, the influence of the Institute of Pacific Relations has been enormous and is apparently growing.

During the recent war, the Institute supplied many agencies with experts on the Far East. Four IPR staff members worked for the China section of the UNRRA. Three others did research for MacArthur's headquarters on Japanese reconstruction. William L. Holland was the head of the O.W.I. in China. Owen Lattimore was President Roosevelt's gift to Chiang Kai-shek for a time and President Truman's special ad-

## IPR-TOKYO AXIS

viser to MacArthur as well as Far Eastern head of O.W.I. The IPR supplied lesser lights to the O.W.I., O.S.S. and the State Department. Not all of these workers who joined government agencies were Communists or fellow-travelers. The IPR, however, frequently provided research specialists who were interested mainly in the furthering of Stalin's aims in the Far East.

Many IPR trustees reached positions of considerable importance. In 1941, Lauchlin Currie was President Roosevelt's special emissary to China. William C. Johnstone worked on a special assignment for the State Department. George E. Taylor was director of the O.W.I.'s Far Eastern section and later in the State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Benjamin Kizer, a Spokane lawyer, headed the UNRRA in China.

The Institute's aid to the government was not limited to supplying experts of varying degrees, for the government bought 750,000 IPR pamphlets for soldiers in the Pacific and Asiatic theaters. Schools, too, have been influenced by IPR publications, especially the series published jointly with the Webster Company of St. Louis, designed for a fourteen-year-old reading level. In three and a half years this series sold over a million copies.

Another way in which the IPR influences public opinion is through the newspapers and periodical press. As the IPR itself does not tire of saying, no one seems to know anything about the Far East. The harried editorial writer is immeasurably pleased, then, when he sees on his desk a neat publicity release and a copy of an article on some aspect of Chinese politics which he can now proceed to discuss as deftly as though he had read the

IPR's notice in the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

LIKE MOST ASSOCIATIONS into which the Communists and fellow-travelers have moved, the IPR reveals certain inconsistencies and peculiarities of policy that can be explained only by the ideological affiliations of its most important figures.

Operating more cleverly in IPR than in most groups they have entered, the Communists and their friends have been able to keep the reputation of this outfit pretty clean. But evidence of their work is easily noted when one takes the IPR material in bulk and breaks it down into two types: the controversial and noncontroversial. What has baffled most readers of IPR books, pamphlets and periodicals is that so much of the stuff is of a very scholarly nature, not at all on subjects that arouse the emotions any more readily than do articles on Chinese pottery. Yet in the last decade or so, at least two out of every three articles in IPR's two journals [*Pacific Affairs*, quarterly, and *Far Eastern Survey*, biweekly] on such hot subjects as Chinese politics, the Soviet Union and the general political situation in the Far East with respect to those two countries and the United States, have been written by such staunch defenders of Stalin as T. A. Bisson, Owen Lattimore, Harriet Moore, Laurence Salisbury and others not too numerous to mention in due time.

It may be claimed that by selecting excerpts and quoting "out of context" any writer can be shown to believe almost anything. This is frequently true. Yet the weight of the evidence that links the IPR to the Communist line is too great to pass off with such platitudes. The writings of the fellow-travelers and outright Communists in

Members of Executive Committee of Board of Trustees  
of American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc , 1946

(1947 list not yet made available to me.)

Chairman, Robert G. Sproul, President University of California,  
Berkeley, California.

Executive Vice-Chairman, Edward C. Carter. President, Russian War Relief, was connected with following pro-Communist Fronts: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Amerasia Magazine; Defense of Moscow Purge Trials. Premier Konoye stated in interview (N.Y. Herald Tribune) that he maintained contact with E. C. Carter "to keep watch on American State Department policies." Carter was quoted in N.Y. Daily Worker, March 8, 1946 - "Ex-Premier Churchill is graciously willing to leave the atomic bomb in the hands of Pres. Truman as long as he, Churchill, will be able to pull the trigger and blackjack progressive people in Greece, Egypt, India and the people of Soviet Russia." Maintains liaison with heads of Communist Party.

John L. Curtis, Asst. Vice-Pres. National City Bank. Director,  
American Russian Institute.

Arthur H. Dean, attorney at law.

Frederick V. Field, member of National Committee, Communist Party of U.S.A. Associate editor of "New Masses" (Communist weekly). Special writer for "Daily Worker;" Trustee, Communist Party Jefferson School, etc., etc., etc. One of Communist Party special agents in contact with underground Communist International.

Huntington Gilchrist, American Cyanamid Corp.

Owen Lattimore, Director, School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University. Advisor to Pres. Roosevelt, Pres. Truman, Henry Wallace. Was connected with pro-Communist National Emergency Conference for Protection of Human Rights, Washington Committee to Aid China, Writers Congress, Defense of Moscow Purge Trials, Associated Editor "Amerasia." Maintains liaison with heads of Communist Party, reportedly operative for Soviet Military Intelligence in Far East.

Harriett L. Moore, Exec. Secretary American Russian Institute;  
"Amerasia," Member Communist Party of U.S.A.

Lawrence Morris, attorney at law. Sponsor pro-Communist Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Donald B. Straus, Management Reports, Sponsor pro-Communist Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Of the above, 7, by their record, may fairly be considered pro-Russian; 2, no record, the Chairman has never attended a meeting. Several are not known to be informed on the Far East.



IPR publications constitute only a small part of the total IPR material—but they constitute its most vital part and they deal with the subjects that are most significant for American foreign policy, international relations and public education.

The IPR's chief method of disclaiming responsibility for what appears under its sponsorship is to include a statement in its publications that the views expressed are those of the writers, not of the IPR or any of its component units. But no one is ever fooled by such disavowals, not even IPR people. Owen Lattimore, who edited the IPR quarterly *Pacific Affairs* from 1934 to 1941, wrote in a report of the IPR secretariat in 1936: "The fact that there is a printed notice in each number (of *Pacific Affairs*) specifically declaring that each contributor is personally responsible for his own statements of opinion and that neither the national councils nor the Institute as a whole can be held responsible, has meant little."

The IPR has often protested that it does not select its writers according to their political beliefs, but because of their scholarship and research ability. One wonders, nevertheless, whether the bulk of the IPR publications would yield an impression any different from the one it does now if it were *not* being used as a front for Communist propaganda. It could hardly do better work for Stalin even if it had been set up by his agents.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS is composed of ten member bodies from each of the following countries: Australia, Canada, China, France, Netherlands-Netherlands Indies, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and

the United States. The Pacific Council, nominally the ruling body, has one representative from each of these National Councils. With the members of the Pacific Council scattered over thousands of miles, there is little centralized control. Actually the American Council is the main unit, and the one most familiar to Americans as well as the one most afflicted with the disease of Stalinist apologetics. Like the parent organization, the American Council is itself a nightmare of administrative complexity. In recent years there has been no meeting of the membership, which now is just below 2,000.

Genuine power in the American Council of the IPR is vested in the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. Of the eight members of this ruling group, the four most vocal are Communists and fellow-travelers. This is what the broad and respectable front of IPR conceals. The big four are Edward C. Carter, Frederick Vandebilt Field, Harriet L. Moore, and Owen Lattimore. All four, with the recent exception of Field, who has joined the Communist Party, move exclusively on the higher levels of gentility in American academic and political life.

Edward C. Carter, the leading light in the IPR, is not the intellectual type. He has written rather infrequently, but his affiliations are nevertheless enlightening. For many years he was on the Board of Directors of the American-Russian Institute, which publishes a quarterly dedicated to the scholarly adulation of all that takes place in Stalin's Russia. He has contributed to *Soviet Russia Today*, a less esoteric market for pro-Soviet articles. In 1938, he signed a statement, published in that magazine, defending the Moscow mock trials. During most of the war years

he was a member of the Board of Directors of Russian War Relief.

The case of Frederick Vandebilt Field is more obvious. Now a member of the Communist Party, Field is the *Daily Worker's* special expert on the Far East, and an associate editor of the Communist weekly, *New Masses*.

Harriet L. Moore has the usual Communist front connections. She was secretary of the Russian War Relief and a member of the Board of Directors of the American-Russian Institute, whose publications she edits. She has also been on the editorial board of *Amerasia*, long a tooter of Stalin's horn among those interested in Far Eastern affairs. This is the magazine which figured as the focal point in the State Department Espionage Case, as reported by E. S. Larsen, in PLAIN TALK for October.

Of the four chief policy-makers of IPR, Owen Lattimore is the best known and most respected in academic circles. He is now director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University. He too had served his stint on the editorial board of *Amerasia*, and has defended the Moscow purge trials.

Through his editorship of the quarterly, *Pacific Affairs*, from 1934 to 1941, Owen Lattimore was able to exert considerable influence in IPR. When he took it over, *Pacific Affairs* was dull, unknown, and devoted mainly to research and statements apparently carefully pruned to remove the slightest trace of a positive point of view about anything more controversial than the depth of the Sulu Sea. As fascism spread and the threat of war increased, Lattimore published articles that took a forthright stand, but in general he followed the Popular Front line then in vogue. *Pacific Affairs* contained contributions generally favorable to Soviet

Russia, against America's neutrality policy, and in praise of the Chinese Communists.

IS THE IPR A PRESSURE GROUP or a research outfit? The letter from Owen Lattimore to Edward C. Carter which we are publishing on page 18, a remarkable document in several respects, should settle this question once and for all, although the stream of highly opinionated writing emanating from the IPR for years furnishes a clear enough answer. Three characteristics stand out in a study of the IPR publications:

First, there is not to be found in its literature any fundamental criticism of the Soviet Union, either of its internal regime or its foreign policy.

Second, there has been abundant and vigorous criticism of the Chinese government and, especially in recent years, equally strong and prominent espousal of the cause of the Chinese Communists.

Third, there was until Pearl Harbor relatively little criticism on the part of the IPR of Japan's internal regime or its foreign policy.

Indeed, in the light of the accompanying letter from Mr. Lattimore to Mr. Carter and of the additional pieces of evidence as to the IPR's ties with the Japanese imperialists, there is room for a Congressional inquiry into this still dark field. In a subsequent article, we shall deal with the first two aspects of the IPR's activity, namely, its pro-Soviet and anti-Chiang Kai-shek stand. There we shall confine ourselves to five salient features of the strange marriage between the IPR and the Japanese war lords:

1. Owen Lattimore wrote his letter on May 18, 1938, less than ten months after Japan launched its undeclared war on China and but a few weeks after

Mr. Edward C. Carter  
129 East 52nd Street  
New York City

Dear Carter:

I have just been reading with great interest Chen Han-seng's memorandum of 27 April attached to your letter of 9 May. As I shall be going with Fred\* to a regional conference at Seattle at the end of this week and so shall have to miss Holland when he passes through, I am replying directly.

As usual, Chen Han-seng has picked out the really crucial points. The IPR stands to maintain and increase its reputation by presenting the constructive possibilities of a Far Eastern settlement. All reactionary estimates of "what is China" will be based on pre-war China and will exclude changes occurring in the course of the war. In pressing for terms of settlement, the IPR is in a better position than any other agency to gage the character and extent of changes occurring during the war; it could and should establish what China is and what Japan is, as of 1939, rather than what either country was as of 1936.

Of course in order to establish the "is" of 1939, the taking off point must be the "was" up to 1937; but the "was" should be only the taking off point and the major emphasis should be consistently applied to the processes of change in 1937 and 1938 and the levels attained and further trends indicated as of 1939.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) OWEN LATTIMORE

\* Probably Frederick Vanderbilt Field, millionaire Communist. Ed.

Hitler's annexation of Austria, events which were regarded in Moscow as the beginnings of World War II. In this massive Mr. Lattimore proposed the dismemberment of China and a settlement with Japan on the basis of "what China is and what Japan is, as of 1939, rather than what either country was as of 1936." The occasion for this communication was a memorandum by a Chinese pro-Communist, Chen Han-seng, who had outlined a study of Chinese foreign policy to cover the period of 1931-39. Mr. Carter, upon the receipt of the extraordinary letter, is on record in a memorandum dated May 20, 1938, addressed to Miriam Farley of the IPR, as follows: "This morning I have received Owen Lattimore's comment with

which of course I agree." All that remains to be added on this point is that neither Mr. Lattimore nor Mr. Carter made clear the purpose of the proposed settlement: Was it intended to help Japan retain the vast areas in North China gained by her aggression or to enable the Chinese Communists to extend their domains as they did in 1945?

2. Lattimore's suggestion, with which Mr. Carter agreed, contemplated direct action by the IPR in the political field, something which it has been at pains to deny frequently. As recently as October 24, 1946, Mr. Carter wrote to a critic of his organization: "The IPR is not an action group and I can assure you it has never set up an action group of any nature whatever." It is obvious

from Lattimore's letter that "in pressing for terms of settlement" the IPR certainly qualified as a pressure group, which is hardly distinguishable from an "action group."

Is it possible that Mr. Carter, finding himself on the horns of a dilemma, really had meant to endorse the idea of turning over half of China to the Communists and not to the Japanese? For this is what he wrote on October 24th, 1946:

"One of your most fantastically inaccurate statements is the accusation that Mr. Owen Lattimore, back in 1938 and 1939, advocated peace in China by turning over half of China to the Japanese. Mr. Lattimore was far ahead of the vast majority of Americans in recognizing the nature and danger of Japanese aggression—years before our government and people were fully alive to its menace."

3. In 1936, a Japanese scientific expedition was permitted by the United States to cruise freely in the waters along the Alaska coast, where it took soundings. Around the same time the Japanese tried to establish fisheries rights in the same areas. In both of these ventures, it has been charged by Miller Freeman, Pacific coast publisher and former Navy Intelligence officer, that the Japanese were aided by the chairman of the American Council of the IPR at the time, who was also a member of a special advisory committee on trade and commerce in the Department of State.

4. Upton Close, writer and radio commentator, made the following signed statement: "A few days prior to the Pearl Harbor disaster, Mr. Trammel (of the National Broadcasting Company) received a letter from E. C. Carter, head of the Institute of Pacific Relations, demanding that I be dropped

from the air because I was anti-Japanese."

5. The Japan Council of the IPR served the interests of aggression. A dispatch of December 7, 1945, by Frank Kelley, then in Tokyo as correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, describes how in Japan the IPR was used as a front for imperialist purposes. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, who was Premier of Japan during much of the crucial period between the renewed war on China in 1937 and the attack upon Pearl Harbor four and a half years later, took a deep interest in his country's IPR chapter. He put his personal, trusted aides into the key posts in the Japanese IPR, which was supported largely with funds contributed by the very industrialists who helped the militarists plan and carry out wars of aggression throughout the Pacific area. It was Konoye who had ordered the preparation of a report explaining Japan's need for expansion because of "population pressure." This report was read to the IPR international conference of 1936, which was held in Yosemite National Park, in California.

The chief secretary of the Japan Council of the IPR, according to Mr. Kelley in the *Herald Tribune*, was Tomohiko Ushiba, Konoye's private secretary. Through Ushiba, Prince Konoye kept in touch with Edward C. Carter, then chief of the IPR's "international secretariat," so that he could "keep watch on American State Department policies." Far Eastern experts, such as abound in the IPR, must surely have known that Prince Konoye was among the leading exponents of Japanese aggression for many years before Pearl Harbor. Yet there is no evidence that the Institute ever took any steps to prevent its use as a front for the

dissemination of propaganda in the United States and for the gathering of inside political and military information about this country.

Unlike the pink pills served by Dr. Carter when treating Russia or China, these five points bearing upon the relations between the IPR and the imperialists of Japan cannot be sugar-coated. The responsible directors of the IPR, which is in the nature of a higher educational institution, owe it to the public

to probe fully into its baffling ties with the Mikado's servants. Considering the semi-official status which the IPR has acquired in the policy-making branches of the Federal Government, the Congress owes it to the country to investigate the history of the organization, its obscure foreign links, its unduly complex administrative set-up, and its alliances with pro-Soviet and pro-Communist elements both at home and abroad.

*(Another and concluding article on the IPR will appear in the next issue.)*

#### U. S. Policies Criticized

Another organization used to transmit Soviet propaganda is the Institute of Pacific Relations, which publishes the quarterly Pacific Affairs, the biweekly Far Eastern Survey, and numerous pamphlets. Because the problems of Asia are enormously complex, and because few Americans possess much background information on that part of the world, writers of I. P. R. literature are free to say almost anything without danger of challenge.

Readers of Pacific Affairs and Far Eastern Survey will search in vain for articles criticizing Soviet policy in Asia, but there is no similar gentleness in discussions of American policy.

For example, an article in the June 5 issue of Far Eastern Survey denounced the Philippine Trade act, which provided for eight years of free trade between the United States and the new republic and 20 years of gradually decreasing trade preferences. Americans may think the act was generous, but the Far Eastern Survey angrily declares it "perpetuates the Philippines' economic dependence on the United States for many years to come."

#### Philippine President Smeared

The paper also printed several articles smearing Manuel Roxas, who was cleared by Gen. MacArthur of collaboration charges and won the presidency of the Philippines in a freely conducted election.

I. P. R. literature on China is sympathetic toward the Chinese Communists. This hardly seems accidental, because some of the leading lights of the American council of the Institute are Frederick V. Field, an associate editor of the communist weekly, New Masses; Edward C. Carter, a director for many years of the American-Russian Institute, and Harriet L. Moore, a well known promoter of pro-Russian organizations.

From THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Feb. 20, 1947

From THE COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMN--Reprints from THE CHICAGO JOURNAL OF COMMERCE June 24-July 11, 1946

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS—An important organization; many of its writers and specialists have held high positions in the State Department. Although some of its top officers are clearly not Communists, it is also clear that they have gradually let many Communists creep into the Institute and use its publications to express Russian policy. Edward C. Carter, director-general of the Pacific Council of the Institute and head of the American Society for Russian Relief, previously called Russian War Relief, has been associated with such fronts as the International Workers Order, which is strictly from Moscow. Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Communist "angel," was secretary of the American Council of the Institute for many years. When the United Nations was being established at the San Francisco Conference last year, Field was there in a double role: as a representative of the Institute and as a writer for the Daily Worker.

From CHRISTIAN CENTURY, Apr-11 25, 1945  
Sues for Mailing List  
Of the I.P.R.

4  
DOES A MEMBER of an organization have a legal right to see and to use the mailing list of the organization which he supports? This interesting question has now been raised in New York, where Alfred Kohlberg is appealing to the courts to compel the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which he claims to have been a member for many years, to allow him access to the names and addresses of his fellow members. He charges that the I.P.R. is so linked with Communists that it "will soon be known as a Communist-front organization" and he wants to use the list to warn associates as to what is happening. His charge gains political piquancy because he declares that the publications of the I.P.R. generally support the Communist government in northwest China and tend "to create dissension and disunity" between the United States and its ally, the Chungking regime. Our impression, gained from some acquaintance with the periodical publications of the organization, is that the alleged pro-Communist bias can be substantiated. But the principal question, it seems to us, is not whether the policy of the organization is this or that, but whether it is democratically controlled. The Institute of Pacific Relations is a private organization for the encouragement of study of the problems of the Pacific area. It has published in its twenty years of history nearly 400 books and pamphlets and a vast number of articles and reviews. Its conferences bring together high officials, business men and academic authorities. It wields considerable influence, both in and out of government. The foundation of that influence is the belief that its studies are objective and non-partisan. The fact that a member has to take the officers to court to get a copy of the mailing list so that he can present to the members his contention that the general trend of these studies is partisan and biased is not reassuring. Now that it has happened, we hope the court will decide that it is in the public interest to give Mr. Kohlberg the list. The members of an organization are responsible for its policies. They ought to be given a way of exercising that responsibility.

# ALERT!

From THE NEW LEADER, Dec. 15, 1945

7

*Dedicated to an exposé of all totalitarian enemies of democracy*

## The Institute of Pacific Relations and American Far-Eastern Policy

THE current Communist campaign to "Gee the Yanks out of China" is led by Mag-Gem, Patrick Hurley's hired cat Stalinists within the State Department, has drawn public attention to the country.

*The New Leader* for years has pointed out that there is a pro-Stalin, pro-Yankee within the State Department which has been largely kept out of the Chinese. Hurley's Government and even the War Relocation Authority.

It is a fact that the Chinese were denied by the Government of the United States and members of the State Department a right to have a say in the Chinese Government. The Chinese were denied the right to have a say in the Chinese Government. The Chinese were denied the right to have a say in the Chinese Government.

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The Communists Want to Abandon China to the Communists

known Stalinist organizations reveals that his name has been linked with the American-Russian Institute, a vociferous "front" group which has as its special propaganda mission the task of convince-

ing Americans that Stalin's in heaven and all's right with the world proletariat. Carter has also written for the Communist edited *Soviet Russia Today* and his name has been tied in with the Inter-

national policy toward China and IPR "exposés" have been asked for recommendations in shaping this policy.

A fact check that IPR publications have reflected Russia's foreign policy as laid down in *The New Masses* and *Daily Worker* was made recently by Alfred Kohlberg, an importer and Far Eastern expert who has been a member of the IPR since 1929. In a letter to Edward C. Carter, director-general of the Pacific Council of IPR, Kohlberg demanded that a responsible body be set up to determine policy of the organization. Kohlberg claimed that, as a result of a study of "Pacific Affairs" over a period of seven years he found:

"No criticism of Japan, except of her rural land system; no single criticism of Communist China; no single criticism of the Soviet Union; severe criticism of the Chinese Kuomintang Government, alternating with praise, closely followed the allegations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and of the Communist press."

A survey of IPR publications bears out Kohlberg's contentions. To say that such persons as Robert G. Spraul, chairman, G. E. Huggins and Raymond Den-nett of IPR are Communists is absurd. But for over a decade well-known Stalinists and their stooges have had an articulate voice within IPR, both as of-

ferals and editorial commentators. FOR years Carter has been the guiding light of the Pacific Council which he organized in 1925. He has shaped policy, arranged for articles and has been an all-around handy man and executive.

A study of Carter's connections with

national Workers Order, the Browder-Foster insurance agency. He was also head of Russian War Relief.

Among the writers who have contributed articles on Chinese political and military matters to IPR publication are the following:

T. A. Bisson, who served in one capacity or another on such Stalinist fronts as the Committee for the Release of Ernst Thaelmann, the American Friends of the Chinese People, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Student Union.

Frederick V. Field, who is now an open Communist Party member, although during the ten years he served as secretary of the American Council of IPR, he never declared such affiliation. He is a full-time writer for *Daily Worker* staff in New York. He has covered the Far Eastern situation for IPR there.

A. V. Hsu, who is editor of *The Daily Worker* Chinese language newspaper, and is regarded as leader of Chinese Stalinists in the United States.

Philip J. Jaffee, co-editor of *Americanism*, a publication which has echoed Russia's foreign policy. Last spring Jaffee was inducted by the Department of Justice for using material stolen from secret files of the State Department. He pleaded guilty and was fined. Jaffee's connections with the Communist Party and particularly Far Eastern sections of Stalinism dates back a decade.

Maxwell S. Stewart, who sets a new high for membership in Communist fronts. This left-wing George F. Rabatt is linked with more than thirty of the comrade's pet groups including the late and unlamented Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom.

Harriet Monroe, whose name appears in *Americasia*, the American-Russian Institute and *The New Masses*.

Edgar Snow, who is not a Communist but a loyal apologist for Soviet Far Eastern policy.

Anna Louise Strong, veteran Communist Party hack, too widely known for her books and *New Masses* interpreta-

tions of Chinese Red policies to need further identification.

As policy makers, however, none of these writers and executives of IPR's American council rank in influence with Owen Lattimore.

When the late President Roosevelt appointed Lattimore as advisor to Chiang Kai-shek in 1941, *The NY Times* stated: "Franklin Roosevelt selected his friend Owen Lattimore and referred to him as an 'expert's expert'."

Lattimore has spent many years in China and has worked on such papers as the *Peking-Tientsin "Times"* and has written innumerable books on the Far East. In 1934 he was appointed editor of *Pacific Affairs* and remained its editor until 1941. Under his editorship, many of the writers mentioned above spoke up loudly for Soviet foreign policy, as he did in *New Masses-Daily Worker* "line" on Far Eastern matters.

In addition to these "experts" such writers as Mary Van Kleeck, veteran Stalin supporter, Joseph P. Barnes, NY *Herald-Tribune* foreign editor and a Soviet apologist, James S. Allen, *Daily Worker* staff member, Corliss Lamont, the comrade's ace front man, and Ella Winter, Communist sympathizer, also had their by-lines on display in IPR publications during Lattimore's tenure.

Lattimore became a Russophile back in 1934 when he first visited the Fatherland, and in his book *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict* wrote:

"Russia appears to be the only nation of the modern world that is 'young' enough to have 'men of destiny.' It creates its Lenin and Stalin; they follow each other with the certainty of fate."

IN 1935, Lattimore asked William Henry Chamberlin to write an article for *Pacific Affairs*, comparing the Japanese and Russian press. Later, when the two met in Peking, Lattimore told Chamberlin that the Soviet branch of IPR objected to the use of any article by Chamberlin and had threatened to withdraw should it be published. The article by Chamber-

lin was not used in *Pacific Affairs*.

It is of interest to note that the so-called Moscow section of IPR was identical with the Pacific Ocean section of the Institute of World Economy and Politics, the brain-trust of Communist propaganda in China.

During the war, Lattimore's books *America and Asia* and *The Making of Modern China* backed the Chinese Government. But after his trip with Henry Wallace to China last year, Lattimore apparently revised his opinions. His opus *Solution in Asia* which appeared last spring, tends to support the Chinese Communists. Harriet Monroe, reviewing it in *Soviet Russia Today* said:

"To the people of Asia he says... The Soviet Union stands for strategic security, economic prosperity, technological progress, education, home, free education, equality of opportunity and democracy."

Under Lattimore's editorship and the guidance of subsequent editors, the policy of IPR as expressed in *Pacific Affairs* since 1937 shows:

From 1937 to 1939, the publication gave a favorable picture of the nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek. So did the world Stalinist press.

Shortly after Aug. 23, 1939, when the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, IPR writers turned their guns on Chiang Kai-shek and came to the conclusion that the Chinese Government is "capitulationist, reactionary and pro-Japanese." And Communist China appeared as a paradise without "corruption, beggars, prostitution, prostitutes, taxes or opium."

Shortly before the Russian-Japanese agreement, *Pacific Affairs* and IPR articles denied Stalin would effect such a pact. After April, 1941, when the agreement was signed, *Pacific Affairs* hastened to deny it would have any effect on China.

Then came June 22, 1941, and the invasion of Russia. IPR publications resumed praise of Chiang Kai-shek.

In the Oct. 20, 1941 issue of *Far Eastern Survey*, the semi-monthly IPR pub-

lication, George Taylor wrote:

"The brunt of fighting against the Japanese and the major part of the political struggle has been borne, of course, by the Kuomintang, the exploits of whose armies for the most part remain unsung."

But in 1941 Chiang Kai-shek formed again as a "fascist" fomenting civil war. And in an IPR pamphlet, Maxwell Stewart wrote:

"Because of the depth of this feeling, the American, British, and Soviet governments have been hesitant to offer advice to the Chinese Government on matters of domestic policy. They have, however, limited their economic and military assistance because of fear that any supplies they sent might be used in civil strife rather than to wipe the Japanese."

To state that the United States Council of IPR or the Pacific Council is under complete Communist domination would be inaccurate. Neither is it, with a large representative group of prominent Americans, an outright Communist front. But it has been falling into the pattern familiar through the years to students of Communist International antics: the lassitude of earnest, pro-democratic majority memberships of organizations permitting the virtual capture of the propaganda media of that group by the Stalinists and their friends. Both *Pacific Affairs* and the *Far Eastern Survey* sometimes consistently and usually obviously have reflected in their editorial policies a marked similarity with the Far Eastern "line" of the Communist Party press.



EXTRACT FROM LECTURE BY THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA,  
JULY 7, 1946 (from POLITICAL AFFAIRS,  
official Communist monthly, N.Y., Oct. 1946)

But why are the American reactionaries so mysteriously eager to furnish what seems to be gratuitous "aid to China," and so heedless of the repeated condemnation by the Chinese and American peoples? It is well-known that this is because the American reactionaries have imperialistic, aggressive aims which they dare not disclose. It is merely because the Chinese reactionaries, versed in the art of betraying their country, permit aggressive interests in the United States actually to control our military, economic, financial, internal and diplomatic affairs, ruin our national economy and freely to penetrate, occupy and utilize our land, sea, airways and inland rivers.

Since American imperialism is more powerful than Japanese imperialism, its methods of aggression outwardly seem more "civilized" and "lawful". Moreover, because it can capitalize on the anti-fascist war and the traditional friendship of the Chinese and American people to

Independence, democracy and peace have become the three inseparable objectives of our people. Those who deny us independence and democracy will first of all deny us peace, for only through civil war can they curb the forces of the Chinese people demanding independence and democracy and ex-

EXTRACT FROM ARTICLE BY FREDERICK V. FIELD,  
FOREIGN SECRETARY, NO. 1 RANKING MEMBER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS (from POLITICAL AFFAIRS, N.Y., Nov., 1946)

World War I

temporarily wrote off the power of German imperialism in the Far East, as elsewhere, and seriously weakened the British and French. The October Socialist Revolution, by ending Russian imperialism, permanent-

States was a hitchhiker, in the 1940's she became the bus driver. British, Dutch, French finance capital no longer could travel the Far Eastern road without American assistance.

The expression of American imperialism's dominant position in relation to the other capitalist powers in the Far East has not been confined to China. There, it is true, it has had its most blatant manifestation. Following the MacArthur-Chiang Kai-shek orders for taking the surrender of Japanese arms, the United States embarked upon undisguised military intervention in China on behalf of feudal-fascist reaction and against the majority of the Chinese people who aspired to unity, democracy, and national independence. If the American people allow this policy to continue, not only will China be doomed to years and years of bloody civil war, but the American people as well will face a future of insecurity, and finally world war, which its own government will have instigated.

This same type of intervention goes on in Japan and Korea also, though under the disguise of occupying former enemy territory. Japan has changed in only one major respect as a result of its defeat. It no longer challenges American imperialism. It is being shaped to serve it. Its feudal-fascist institutions have not been eliminated; they are being made subservient tools of the American master. The political, social, and economic pattern of Japan today is not something different from the Japan of 1941; it is simply an alteration of that pattern. And it will take more than the ousting of MacArthur or of any other personality in the occupation setup to wipe out

the structure of Japanese reaction; it will take a defeat of the American imperialist policy for the whole Far Eastern area.

Events in Southern Korea, as disgraceful as anything that can be found in American history, have for the most part been lost in the confusion of postwar events which have crowded the American mind. It is too seldom remembered, for instance, that a united front of Korean anti-fascists had taken over from the Japanese and the quislings and formed a popular government before the Americans landed in the southern half of the country early in September. The American military command refused to deal with them, and instead imposed its own imperialist government. The leaders of the popular Korean movement were suppressed, harassed, and in many cases imprisoned. Their organizations, their newspapers, and their meetings were forcibly broken up. Reactionary Koreans were imported from the United States and Chungking to replace those who had led the people in sabotage of the Japanese fascists. Collaborators, landlords, and former quislings were systematically promoted to power by the United States occupation authorities. A simple criterion of desirability was established. All those who supported the Moscow decisions, to which the United States was a party, regarding joint trusteeship and early independence for Korea, were branded as dangerous radicals; those who publicly denounced the Moscow accord were given positions of responsibility in the new government. Korea, like Japan and China, was being ideologically, economically, and militarily prepared for the

ly eliminated it as a factor in the situation.

For the United States it was World War II that was to prove decisive in establishing it as the dominant imperialist power in the Far East. It in the 1890's the United

American-inspired struggle against democracy in the Far East.

One of the most extravagant frauds of history has been perpetrated by the United States over the question of Philippine independence. There was a period before and during the war when the Dutch, British, and French imperialists were concerned at the break in the colonial system allegedly represented by the American intention to free its Pacific colony. The precedent thus to be set, they felt, would have disturbing implications for their tens of millions of "charges." But as matters turned out, the force which the Truman Administration's "bi-partisan" policy made of Philippine "independence" has set a pattern which the British, Dutch and French might well copy with a minimum of loss to their imperialist interests.

Veterans of the Philippine campaign put it this way: "After we finished we fought the Japanese hand in hand with the Filipino guerrillas and we moved forward toward Manila largely on the basis of intelligence supplied by the Filipinos. In each town we captured we'd take the Japanese that were left and put the Filipino collaborators in jail. Afterwards things changed. We'd go back to visit these towns and we'd find that the Filipino guerrillas had been jailed or driven to the hills. The quislings would not only have been released but would be holding down the job of mayor, or judge or whatever other position was at the disposal of the American authorities."

That is the story in a nutshell. This was American policy. It was carried out, and of course in part initiated, by General MacArthur

whose former business associates in the Philippines and present military and political colleagues were the leaders of Franco's Falange in the Islands and Filipino quislings. To execute the policy the United States has retained in the Philippines a force of no less than one hundred thousand troops. It has trained and equipped an army and a militia of Filipinos which are under the command of former quislings. It has turned over to the Quisling government surplus property worth nearly three quarters of a billion dollars. It has employed its own troops and its Filipino puppet troops to intervene in the presidential elections and to try to slaughter the anti landlord peasant movement of Central Luzon. There has thus been created an internal situation momentarily in favor of American imperialism. Formal independence has brought no change in the imperialist relationship, a change only in the tactics of imperialism.

On the strictly economic side of the picture the Philippines Trade Act, passed by Congress and signed by Truman in April, 1946, not only perpetuates the dominance of U.S. vested interests in the Philippines for another 28 years but grants to Americans even greater economic privileges in the Islands than they enjoyed before "independence."

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FAR EAST

• • • • •  
"Whereas after the war we shall find Asia economically still largely in a state of primitive agriculture, politically we shall find it divided in two parts: Free Asia and Subject Asia. While Lincoln's phrase cannot be applied literally, yet in a larger

sense it is true that neither country nor region can indefinitely continue to exist half slave and half free."

These words were written by Henry A. Wallace in the Spring of 1945 and appear in a pamphlet, *Our Job in the Pacific*, published by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. They express the position of President Roosevelt in his struggle against the colonialism of the old world empires. Mr. Wallace did not then anticipate American military intervention in China; he included China in the category of Free Asia. Elsewhere in this pamphlet he recognizes the key relation of China to the struggle for freedom in the Far East. "Today," he writes, "the peoples of the East are on the march. We can date the beginning of that march from 1911 when the revolutionary movement among the Chinese people, inspired by the teaching of Sun Yat sen, overthrew the Manchu dynasty."

The policy of American imperialism toward the Philippines and toward the colonial policies of its imperialist rivals are operations complementary to the main attack upon China. Referring again to the division between a free and a subject Asia, Mr. Wallace says: "It is to our advantage not to perpetuate this division but to see an orderly process of transition so that the area of free Asia will grow and the area of subject Asia continually diminish." In sharp contrast to this second advice the "bi-partisan" Fyines Vandenberg policy tries and encourages military violence in subjecting even further the area of "Subject Asia" and in attempting to enslave China, the main fortress of Henry Wallace's concept of "Free Asia."

#### A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

The way in which the Far Eastern war was fought and brought to an end has given American imperialism a special postwar character in that area which it does not enjoy in Europe. For all the reasons mentioned

a Far Eastern vista has been opened to American imperialists which ends on a horizon of world domination. Not only is Eastern Asia, with its resources, its economic backwardness, and its hundreds of millions of inhabitants, a first-rate imperialist prize in itself; it offers far more. It offers a vast land base of great potential power and strategic significance on the borders of the Soviet Union. This is the fifth reason that U.S. imperialist policy in the Far East is peculiarly dangerous to world peace.

Control of this land base has not been achieved by the imperialists. But neither can it be said that the present situation excludes the possibility that the imperialists will stake even more than they already have in order to achieve that goal, nor that in doing so they will not lead the world toward another war. Today they have instigated civil war in China for the purpose of controlling that great land base and they are making extension of that war to the actual Soviet borders. Today it is an imperialist maneuver for position. Tomorrow?

American imperialism during and after the war made its greatest advances in the Far East. It is there that it has its greatest opportunities to expand to enslave, to hold back the march of freedom and democracy, and to achieve the preconditions for launching World War III.

(Political Affairs, Nov. 1946)

# AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, Inc.

Proxy for Special Meeting of Members on April 22, 1947

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That the undersigned member of AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, Inc., formerly known as THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, Inc., hereby appoints ALFRED KOHLBERG and WM. H. SMYTH as attorneys and proxies and each of them as attorney and proxy for the undersigned, and in the name, place and stead of the undersigned, to attend the Special Meeting of the members of said Corporation to be held at the New York office of said Corporation on April 22, 1947, and at any adjournment thereof, and to vote at said meeting, or any adjournment thereof, in favor of the adoption of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, ALFRED KOHLBERG, Inc., a member of American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., through Alfred Kohlberg, its President, has made certain charges in respect to the policies of the Institute of Pacific Relations, both American Council and Pacific Council, as exemplified by their publications since about 1936, such charges being set forth originally in a letter addressed to E. C. Carter, Director General of the Pacific Council, under date of November 9, 1944; and

WHEREAS, on the petition of Alfred Kohlberg, Inc., the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in New York County, by Decree dated September 30, 1946, directed The American Council to call this special meeting for the purpose of considering a resolution to be proposed by Alfred Kohlberg appointing a committee to investigate said charges, and

WHEREAS, said charges have been more fully explained by letter from Alfred Kohlberg dated March 18, 1947 which letter was addressed to all members of the American Institute pursuant to the said decree of the Supreme Court, and

THIS RESOLUTION having been duly proposed, seconded and considered,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that such of the following distinguished American citizens as will serve, (but not less than three), all being interested in the Pacific area and not members of the Board of Trustees of either the American Institute or the Pacific Council, are hereby appointed a Special Committee:

Henry P. Van Dusen, President, Union Theological Seminary; Father Robert I. Gannon (S.J.), President, Fordham University; Honorable Clare Boothe Luce, former Representative in Congress; Rodney Gilbert, former Director, Columbia School of Journalism in Chinking; Dr. Maurice Wilham, author "Sun Yat Sen Versus Communism"; DeWitt Wallace, Publisher, Readers Digest; Max Eastman, author; George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College; A. Whitney Griswold, School of International Studies, Yale; Tyler Dennett, former President, Williams College; Mrs. Joseph Schumpeter, Economist; Dr. Walter H. Judd, Representative from Minnesota; Rev. Ronald Norris, Director Institute of Chinese Culture; Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, former Ambassador to China; Wm. Henry Chamberlin, Correspondent and Author; Lucian S. Kirtland, former Correspondent in China; Dr. Roscoe Pound, Dean Emeritus Harvard Law School.

which Special Committee is hereby appointed, empowered and directed to consider the following questions:

1. Whether any or all of the writers who have written articles on China, appearing in publications issued by the Institute of Pacific Relations (including the American Council, the Pacific Council and the International Secretariat) in the last ten years have been at any time members of, affiliated with or employed by Soviet or Communist Front organizations.
2. Whether the attitude toward the Chinese Government, reflected by the articles on China appearing in such publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations during the last ten years, has changed from time to time to correspond with the attitude reflected by articles appearing in Communist publications such as, The New Masses, The Communist and The Daily Worker.
3. Whether articles on China appearing in such publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations have presented inaccurate, untrue, false or unsubstantiated statements of fact, assertions, statistics, information, charges, opinions or conclusions.
4. Whether the sections of the Institute of Pacific Relations, above referred to, or any of its employees or associates have exerted pressure on governmental or public agencies or personnel in an attempt to influence them in favor of pro-Communist courses of action or in the dissemination of pro-Communist propaganda.

and which Special Committee is further appointed, empowered and directed, in considering said questions, to conduct hearings open to the public, to hear such witnesses as Mr. Kohlberg may call to appear before said Committee, such witnesses as the officers of any Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations may desire to have appear before said Committee, and such other witnesses as any member of the Committee may desire to call, to study such publications, correspondence, minutes and other records of any Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which the Committee may consider relevant, and to prepare a written report of its findings and conclusions, which report shall be mailed to each member of the American Institute. The Special Committee is specifically authorized to have free access to all files, minutes, transcripts, records, correspondence and accounts of The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., now known as "American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc."

and the undersigned hereby authorizes and empowers said proxies or proxy to consent to or vote for any amendments of said proposed resolution which, in the opinion of said proxies or proxy, is in conformity with the general purpose of said proposed resolution, and the undersigned hereby authorizes and directs said proxies or proxy to oppose any resolution or other action at said meeting or any adjournment thereof, which in the opinion of said proxy shall be inconsistent with the adoption of said resolution; and the undersigned hereby gives said proxies or proxy full power of substitution hereunder.

This proxy shall take precedence over any other proxy heretofore or hereafter executed by the undersigned, empowering any person to attend and to vote as proxy for the undersigned at said meeting, except a proxy for said meeting, heretofore or hereafter executed by the undersigned, which shall specifically direct the proxy named therein to vote against said resolution. The undersigned hereby gives any proxy as provided by the undersigned which would authorize any person to vote against the adoption of said proposed resolution.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned has caused this proxy to be duly executed the day of 1947.

Witness:

Member

Address

Please print name on this line

cc Me:

Mem • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, New York

April 23, 1947

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Bureau file 100-64700

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau are two photostatic copies of a letter dated April 4, 1947, sent by the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS to its members.

This letter attempts to discredit the charges of ALFRED KOHLBERG that the I.P.R. is under the domination of Communists. The letter refers to FREDERICK V. FIELD as "a well-known and avowed leftist" who was elected to the Executive Committee. The letter also sets forth the names of the members on the National Board of Trustees.

2- ENCL. ATTACHED

Encls.

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DATE 3/4/83 BY SP8 BCL/s

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ENCLOSURE

NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING

of

Members of

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.

to be held at its offices, 1 East 54th Street, New York City  
at 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, April 22, 1947

---

PURPOSE OF THE MEETING

Considering a resolution to be proposed by Alfred Kohlberg  
appointing a committee to investigate certain charges of  
Alfred Kohlberg, and such other business as may properly  
come before the meeting.

MARGUERITE ANN STEWART  
Secretary

Please cut along this line, sign and return the proxy by quickest mail to the of-  
fices of American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York

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P R O X Y

The undersigned member of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., does hereby constitute and appoint ARTHUR H. DEAN and JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, or either of them, with full power of substitution, as my duly constituted proxies and attorneys to vote in my behalf against any and all proposals made by Alfred Kohlberg at a meeting of the members on Tuesday, April 22nd, 1947, or any adjournment thereof, and to vote in favor of sustaining the policies of the Board of Trustees, with all the power I would possess if personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming all my proxies and attorneys may do in my behalf, and hereby revoking all proxies heretofore given by me with respect to such meeting.

Dated \_\_\_\_\_ 1947

(sign here)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Member

(please print name here) \_\_\_\_\_



- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| RICHARD P. HEPPNER    | - Attorney: Donovan, Leisure, Newton, Lumbard & Irvine.  |
| JOHN R. HERSEY        | - Author.  |
| PAUL G. HOFFMAN       | - President, Studebaker Corporation.   |
| BENJAMIN H. KIZER     | - Attorney, Spokane; former Director of UNRRA in China; former Vice-Chairman, American IPR.  |
| DANIEL E. KOSHLAND    | - Vice-President and Treasurer, Levi Strauss and Company.  |
| LEWIS L. LAPHAM       | - Assistant to the President, American Hawaiian Steamship Company.   |
| *OWEN LATTIMORE       | - Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University; Chairman, Research Advisory Committee, American IPR.                            |
| HERBERT S. LITTLE     | - Attorney: Little, Leader, LeSourd, & Palmer, Seattle; Chairman, Northwest IPR; National Vice-Chairman, American IPR.   |
| *WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD  | - Assistant Director, School of Public & International Affairs, Princeton University; formerly Secretary, American IPR; Member, Research Advisory Committee, American IPR. |
| BOYD A. MARTIN        | - Professor of Political Science, University of Idaho.   |
| CHARLES E. MARTIN     | - Professor of Political Science, University of Washington.  |
| RENE A. MAY           | - Getz Brothers, Exporters.  |
| ABBOT LOW MOFFAT      | - Southeast Asian Affairs Division, U.S. Department of State.  |
| DONALD M. NELSON      | - President, Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers; Chairman, Southern California IPR; National Vice-Chairman, American IPR.                                     |
| DAVID N. ROWE         | - Director of Far Eastern Studies, Yale University; Member, Research Advisory Committee, American IPR.   |
| GREGG M. SINCLAIR     | - President, University of Hawaii; Founder of the School of Pacific and Asiatic Studies; formerly taught in Japan.   |
| *ROBERT GORDON SPROUL | - President, University of California; National Chairman, American IPR.  |
| *DONALD B. STRAUS     | - Management Employee Relations Inc.; Treasurer, American IPR.   |
| *DONALD TEWKESBURY    | - Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Specialist in Far Eastern Education; Chairman, Education Advisory Committee, American IPR.    |
| DONALD B. TRESIDDER   | - President, Stanford University.  |
| JUAN TRIPPE           | - President, Pan-American Airways System.  |
| SUMNER WELLES         | - Writer and Commentator; formerly Under Secretary of State; Chairman, Washington IPR; National Vice-Chairman, American IPR.   |
| *LYNN WHITE jr.       | - President, Mills College; Executive Vice-Chairman, San Francisco IPR.  |
| BRAYTON WILBUR        | - Wilbur-Ellis Company; former President, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.   |
| RAY LYMAN WILBUR      | - Chancellor, Stanford University.   |
| HEATON L. WRENN       | - Attorney: Anderson, Wrenn & Jenks, Honolulu.   |
| LOUISE L. WRIGHT      | - Director, Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago.   |
| J. D. ZELLERBACH      | - President, Crown-Zellerbach Corporation; Director, California State Chamber of Commerce.   |

head of his proxy. While the Board of Trustees regards the charges of Mr. Kohlberg as unfounded, in the interests of free speech they agreed in an out of court settlement of the court action brought by Mr. Kohlberg to mail to all members any charges against the Institute which Mr. Kohlberg might wish to have aired; and that is the reason the name of the Institute appears on Mr. Kohlberg's proxy.

If you wish to support the present policies of the Institute, make sure that you date, sign and return the form of proxy sent to you by the Institute itself. If there is any question in your mind, the execution of the enclosed proxy will revoke any proxy you may have given to Mr. Kohlberg. If you wish to attend the meeting personally and have already sent in a proxy, your proxy will not be used at the meeting without your consent.

Sincerely yours,

*Joseph P. Chamberlain*

*Arthur H. Deane*

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.  
HONOLULU • LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SAN FRANCISCO • SEATTLE • WASHINGTON, D. C.

1 EAST 54th STREET  
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.  
ELdorado 5-1759

April 4, 1947

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS:

You have recently received through the mails a communication from Alfred Kohlberg in which he set forth his charges that the Institute is under the influence or domination of Communists. Without obtaining their previous consent, Mr. Kohlberg has nominated a number of prominent citizens who, if authorized at the special meeting to be held on April 22, 1947, would investigate the work of the IPR and perhaps replace the present administration with one more congenial to him. If Mr. Kohlberg's charges were true, the undersigned would be as eager as Mr. Kohlberg to have a thorough investigation made. Mr. Kohlberg has, however, rejected various offers to have the situation investigated by competent and impartial committees and insists on a committee of his own choosing. The undersigned know that some of the persons named by Mr. Kohlberg would not be willing to act on an investigating committee.

As you are well aware, the Institute is a non-profit, educational institution designed to furnish to its members scholarly, able, and impartial information with respect to the Pacific area. It does not itself express opinions on public affairs, and responsibility for statements of fact or opinion in its publications rests solely with the author. Articles which appear in its publications are written by experts especially selected for the purpose and are checked with scholarly and impartial sources. The Institute has recently received letters from a distinguished list of leading experts on Far Eastern affairs attesting to the impartiality and the scholarly content of its publications. Copies of these letters will be sent to any member on request.

The publications of the Institute have been used, since it was founded in 1925, in universities, schools, libraries, government offices, and business houses. A large part of the support for the research and educational work of the Institute comes from business houses and foundations (Rockefeller and Carnegie). During the war, its publications were widely circulated by the Army and Navy.

The Trustees of the Institute are elected by ballot by the members. A list of the present Board of Trustees is enclosed. On the proxy statement recently sent to the members, there was a brief description of the affiliation of each of the Trustees, and Frederick V. Field was described as a Member of the Editorial Board of the New Masses. Mr. Field was elected a Trustee by a majority vote of the members voting. He has for many years been a student of Far Eastern affairs and his writings for the IPR, during the period he was a member of its staff, have been said by competent experts to maintain

a high standard of scholarship. He is a well-known and avowed leftist. We believe that all members of the Institute are well acquainted with his sympathies and affiliations. Following the annual meeting of members at which Mr. Field was elected, the Board of Trustees, after taking into consideration Mr. Field's affiliations and the fact that he had been elected a Trustee by the members, decided to elect him to membership on the Executive Committee. To the knowledge of the undersigned, no other member of the Executive Committee has affiliations similar to those of Mr. Field.

The members of the Board of Trustees and their affiliations constitute the best evidence as to its make up and is itself the best refutation of Mr. Kohlberg's charges that they would permit the publications of the Institute to follow the Party line. Mr. Field has not been on the staff of the Institute for a number of years, holds no office in the Institute, and is not a member of its Research Advisory or Education Advisory Committees.

Mr. Kohlberg is apparently following the technique of making so many inaccurate charges that at least some of them will be believed.

If any member desires, the Institute is prepared to answer in detail each and every one of Mr. Kohlberg's charges. For the purpose of this letter it is sufficient to say that the Board of Trustees meets twice a year and has good attendance at its meetings. The Executive Committee meets regularly, with good attendance. And Chairman Sproul not only has a good record for attendance at Trustees meetings but on a number of occasions has met with the Executive Committee and has been active in the work of the Institute.

The undersigned are as concerned as you are that the work of the Institute should be maintained on a high level of scholarship and on an impartial basis and welcome criticisms from members. It should be emphasized that Mr. Kohlberg's specific charges of communist bias are based on selections from 33 articles and book reviews, 3 pamphlets, and one book, covering a seven-year period in which the organization published 1961 articles and book reviews and 324 books and pamphlets. Mr. Kohlberg's charges are based on fragmentary excerpts from these articles and pamphlets, frequently plucked out of context without explanation and without important qualifying sentences or clauses.

A large number of Mr. Kohlberg's excerpts are taken from publications with which the IPR has no connection directly or indirectly. The Institute has no more power to control the individual expression of views of its members than it has to control the views of Mr. Kohlberg.

There is enclosed for your use a proxy for use at the special meeting which has been called to act on Mr. Kohlberg's proposal on April 22nd. If you have not previously sent in a proxy and wish to support the work of the Institute, please date and sign the enclosed proxy and return it in the enclosed envelope.

The literature sent to you by Mr. Kohlberg may possibly have confused some of our members because it contained the name of the Institute in bold type at the head of his proxy. A number of members have written in asking why the Institute permitted Mr. Kohlberg so to use the name of the Institute at the

Office Memorandum

Director

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT:

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Bureau File 100-17893

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DATE 3/4/85 BY SP8 BCL/2

Enclosed for the files of the Bureau are two copies of a  
letter dated April 9, 1947, received from the Council Group of the  
Institute of Pacific Relations. This letter stated that the  
KOHLBERG charges against the Bureau.

Encls.  
100-17893

b7C

57 MAY 22 1947

51 MAY 12 1947

100-65700-70

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.  
Honolulu, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, Washington, D.C.

Dillingham Bldg. Annex  
Honolulu 16, T. H.  
Telephone 68188

HAWAII GROUP  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
G. W. Fisher, Chairman  
Paul S. Sachman, Vice-Chairman  
Charles F. Loomis, Secretary  
Heaton L. Trenn, Treasurer  
Walter F. Dillingham  
Etc.

April 9, 1947

Dear Member:

You have by now undoubtedly received the letter of Alfred Kohlberg in which he impeaches the patriotism of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

Members who know the work of the Institute and the distinguished Americans constituting its leadership will know how to evaluate an allegation of this kind. Members who know Alfred Kohlberg will know what weight to give anything that he says.

The Institute has always told the truth about the Chinese situation, and it will not be intimidated into any other course.

If Alfred Kohlberg's charges were true, it is scarcely credible that the Army and Navy could have purchased millions of copies of IPR publications for wholesale distribution throughout the services.

If Alfred Kohlberg's charges were true, it is not likely that the IPR would have received a Navy "E" for extraordinary war service.

If Alfred Kohlberg's charges were true, it is difficult to believe that the Rockefeller Foundation would have recently described it as "the most important single source of independent studies on the Pacific area and the Far East."

If Alfred Kohlberg's charges were true, it is not likely that the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations would have materially increased their annual grants, amounting to many thousands of dollars, for the support of the Institute this year.

If Alfred Kohlberg's charges were true, it is hardly possible that men of national repute--such as Donald M. Nelson, Henry F. Grady, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Robert Gordon Sproul, Sumner Welles, Louis L. Lapham, J. D. Zellerbach, Lauchlin Currie, William R. Herod, Brooks Egan, and many others--would consent to serve on the IPR's Board of Trustees after the charges had been repeatedly brought to their attention.



NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING

of

Members of

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PURPOSE OF THE MEETING

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appointing a committee to investigate certain charges of  
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come before the meeting.

MARGUERITE ANN STEWART  
Secretary

Please cut along this line, sign and return the proxy by quickest mail to the of-  
fices of American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York

P R O X Y

I, undersigned member of the American Institute of Pacific Relations,  
do hereby constitute and appoint ALBERT H. DEAN and JOSEPH P.  
BERLAIN, or either of them, with full power of substitution, as  
duly constituted proxies and attorneys to vote in my behalf against  
and all proposals made by Alfred Kohlberg at a meeting of the mem-  
bers on Tuesday, April 22nd, 1947, or any adjournment thereof, and to  
vote in favor of sustaining the policies of the Board of Trustees, with  
the power I would possess if personally present, hereby ratifying  
and confirming all my proxies and attorneys to do in my behalf, and  
by revoking all proxies heretofore given to me with respect to  
the meeting.

(sign here)

Dated

1947

Member

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: May 29, 1947

FROM : SAC, New York

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(Bureau File 100-64700)

A review of the file in the above case indicates that the Bureau has been furnished with background information on the subject organization. In accordance with the policy set forth in SAC Letter #44 this case will be placed in a closed status. The Bureau will be advised of any pertinent information that may come to the attention of the New York Office, and will be furnished with literature received from subject organization.

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June 6, 1947

**MEMORANDUM**

Re: ~~INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS~~ - *Summary*

The Institute of Pacific Relations was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on February 20, 1939, as a private organization described as an unofficial international group established to promote the cooperative study of mutual relations of the people and problems in the Pacific area. It took over the functions of an association known as the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

National headquarters are at 1 East 54th Street, New York. Washington headquarters are at 1710 G Street, Northwest. The Institute maintained a total of seven regional centers: San Francisco, Washington, D. C., Honolulu, Seattle, Milwaukee, Eastern Washington and Idaho, and Los Angeles. As of April, 1946; (latest available information) the Institute claimed a membership of 1,900.

On March 28, 1946, the following persons were elected officers of the Institute of Pacific Relations:

Chairman, Robert G. Sproul  
Executive Vice Chairman, Edward C. Carter  
Vice Chairmen  
Joseph P. Chamberlain  
Mortimer Graves  
Henry R. Luce  
Ray Lyman Wilbur  
Treasurer, Brooks Emeny  
Assistant Treasurer, Tillie G. Shahn  
Secretary, Lawrence Morris

The Executive Committee, which was elected, is as follows:

Robert G. Sproul, Chairman ex officio  
Edward C. Carter, Executive Vice Chairman  
John Curtis  
Arthur Dean  
Frederick V. Field  
Lawrence Morris  
Harriet Moore  
Donald Straus  
Owen Lattimore

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ENCLOSURE

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USAF. Ballington  
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amb*

Edward C. Carter has been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations and its predecessor organizations since 1927. He is perhaps better known as the Head of Russian War Relief in the United States. He has travelled extensively in the Far East and has made several trips to Russia. He has described himself as a fellow traveler and he has been closely associated with leading members of the Communist Party in the United States.

Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a member of the Executive Committee, is an Assistant Editor of "New Masses" and has contributed columns to the "Daily Worker" generally on Far Eastern affairs. He has been associated with the Jefferson School for Social Science in New York City which is known to be sponsored and controlled by the Communist Party. He has been quite active in numerous Communist front organizations such as American Peace Mobilization, the Confederation of Latin American Workers, the New York Council of American Soviet Friendship and the Council of Pan American Democracy.

Owen Lattimore, a member of the Executive Committee, was at one time political advisor to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. He has been Editor of "Pacific Affairs" one of the publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations and he has written a number of books about the Far East.

According to a bulletin put out by the Institute of Pacific Relations in April, 1946, T. A. Bisson, a staff member of that organization, was being sent to Tokyo where he planned to remain for some months working on a research study of problems on Japanese reconstruction.

Thomas Arthur Bisson was formerly employed as an economist by the Board of Economic Warfare in Washington, D. C. He has travelled extensively and written several books and magazine articles. Three of his articles appeared in the magazine, "Soviet Russia Today." The former Dies Committee described Bisson as a sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front organization. He is also said to have been a member of the American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature, the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism, the American Committee for Non-participation in Japanese Aggression -- all Communist sponsored groups. Bisson has also served as a member of the Editorial Board of the magazine, "Amerasia," published and edited by Philip Jaffee and Katie Mitchell, both of whom were arrested in 1945 and charged with conspiracy to steal secret Government documents from various Government agencies. In 1939 Bisson was one who reportedly attempted to justify the Soviet Pact with Hitler and who in 1941 reversed his position when Germany



attacked Russia. In 1942 Bissan gave a sworn statement in which he denied his affiliation with the Communist Party and his alleged sponsorship of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Although the Institute of Pacific Relations has had a number of prominent and unquestionably reliable people on its Board of Officers, it has been reported that a number of persons active in the affairs of the Communist Party have managed to infiltrate the organization and to become active in its research department. The Communists and Communist sympathizers are also said to have been quite successful in infiltrating into clerical positions with the Institute.

(ALL FOREGOING INFORMATION TAKEN FROM 100-64700-5)